

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Savio Files Again for UC Admission

Mario Savio, his attempts at readmission for the fall semester at the University of California thwarted, applied for winter quarter registration yesterday.

The 23-year-old leader of the 1964-65 Free Speech Movement had applied earlier for the fall term but the application was turned down because it was filed too late.

University spokesmen said all fall applications are being processed before winter applications are studied. Deadline for winter applications is Jan. 3. Classes start Jan. 6.

Savio, who returned to Berkeley this summer, had spent a year studying in England following his leadership of the FSM.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 Berkeley Daily
Gazette

Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 8-19-66
Edition: Eve.

Author:
Editor: Pub.: Warren Brown, Jr.
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-18-89 BY SP1AC/6cm

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SEP 1 - 1966	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-54060

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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4 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Will be processed in SF 100-57306

Re: International Days of Protest

- ☒ For your information: Document is identified as: internal FD-306
to SAC San Francisco

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

SF 100-57060-317

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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3 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Will be processed in SF 100-54060

Re: Free Speech Movement

- ☒ For your information: Document is identified as: FD-306

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

SF 100-54060-318

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☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

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☐ (j)(2)

☐ (k)(1)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (k)(4)

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☐ (k)(6)

☐ (k)(7)

SF 100 - 54060 - 319

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

9/23/66

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-54060)
SUBJECT: MARIO ROBERT SAVIO, aka
SM - C

Re memo of SA [redacted] to SAC, SAN FRANCISCO, b7c
entitled [redacted] (informant report) b7D
dated [redacted]

One copy of referenced memo was sent to Los Angeles for the [redacted] b7D

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DATE 9-18-89 BY SP1 AG/cum

3 - Los Angeles (RM)

1 - [redacted]

① - San Francisco

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Searched

Serialized

Indexed

Filed

100-54060-320

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HERB CAEN



Mario Savio, who has kept himself under wraps lately, much to the relief of Clerk Karr, emerges today for an anti-Vietnam rally on the Sproul Hall steps, sponsored by the United Committee Against the War. This is the successor to the now-dead Vietnam Day Committee (all those "Stamp Out VDC" posters must've worked).

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

31 S.F. Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 9-29-66
Edition: Final Home
Author:
Editor: Herb Caen
Title: Chas.deYoung Thieriot

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

SF

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DATE 9-18-89 BY SP100/alm

100-54060-321

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b7c

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Savio Decides To Come Out Of Retirement

Mario Savio decided today to come out of retirement and resume his role as orator of the Sproul Hall steps at the University of California in Berkeley.

He was listed as one of the chief speakers at a noon rally called by a new campus organization, the United Committee Against the War.

His last appearance on the steps was in the spring semester of 1965, when he announced he was resigning from leadership in the Free Speech Movement. He said at the time that he didn't want to become a Napoleon.

Since his return to Berkeley last April, Savio has stayed out of the campus political scene. He is working as bartender in a Berkeley tavern frequented by political enthusiasts of the radical left.

His only interview was given to The Examiner, and at the time he said he would like to help create a third political party. In August he applied for readmission to the university as a junior stu-

dent in physics, but UC officials said his application was received too late for consideration.

Savio has applied for readmission in the winter quarter, beginning in January. He is 23, and he resides in the East Bay with his wife, Suzanne, and an infant son.

He became famous in his role as chief spokesman for the FSM during demonstrations, a mass arrest and prolonged protests that led to liberalization of rules for campus political activity.

The United Committee Against the War, formerly known as the Aug. 6 to 9 Committee, was formed after UC authorities banned the campus chapter of the Vietnam Day Committee in July. The VDC ban, which came after what UC spokesmen called repeated violations of the liberalized rules, will expire on Monday.

Classes will begin Monday for the fall quarter. Most of the university's 27,000 students are on the campus for registration.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

15 S.F. Examiner

San Francisco, Calif.

9-29-66

Date: 9-29-66
Edition: Final Home
Author:
Editor: Edmund J. Dooley
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

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DATE 9-18-89 BY SP1AG/AM

100-54060-322

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SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mario Savio Says UC Students Have No Confidence in Muscatine Report

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Berkeley Daily
Gazette

Pg. 1

Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 9/28/66
Edition: Daily
Author:
Editor: Gerald A. Beatty
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9-18-89 BY SP1066/m

NEW YORK (UPI) — Mario Savio, former student leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley, said today the student body had little faith in the work of the Muscatine Committee.

Savio's comments appeared in the October issue of Harper's magazine.

The Muscatine Committee was established in the spring of 1965 to study the state of the educational program at Berkeley and to make recommendations for its improvement, following the Free Speech Movement the preceding fall.

Savio wrote that since students were not represented on the committee as voting members, its report could not "take the evils of the existing educational system very seriously."

"The students were scarcely eager to trust the faculty with advancing student interests... especially when those student interests were clearly in conflict with powerful interests on the faculty," he said.

"Nowhere in the report, least of all in its recommendations, is there any sense of responding to a real emergency," Savio said.

He said the students should organize themselves independently of the faculty in much the same way as workers have done. He also condemned large lecture classes at Berkeley and appealed "once more for small seminars and tutorials."

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OCT 7 1966
FBI — SAN FRANCISCO

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122-54062-323

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Mario the Spectator



Mario Savio was back on the University of California campus when an assemblage was held on the steps of Sproul Hall. But he was not in the foreground. Instead, he stood in the crowd and looked on with his 10-month-old son, Steffan, looking down from his dad's shoulders.

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DATE 9-18-89 BY SP186/m

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 Berkeley Daily
Gazette

Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 10-13-66
Edition: Daily
Author:
Editor: Gerald A. Beatty
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-54060-324

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI (100-443052; 100-443731)

October 19, 1966

Legat, Rome (100-1306) (RUC)

MARIO ROBERT SAVIO
SM - C

SUZANNE SAVIO
SM - C

(oo: San Francisco)

ReRomlet February 28, 1966.

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Declassify on: OADR

- 5 - Bureau (1 - Liaison)
- (2 - San Francisco 100-54060, 100-54266)
- 1 - Rome (100-1306)

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2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Will be processed in HQ 100-151646
Re: University of California

- ☒ For your information: Document is identified as: 2-page teletype
from San Francisco to HQs dated 11-4-66

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

SF 100-54060-326

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b7D

Date received 11/4/66 Received by [redacted] Received by [redacted] b7c

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

Date(s) of activity

11/4/66

Brief description of activity or material

"Our Additional Liberties"
leaflet distributed
by Maria Savio at

File where original is located if not attached

100-54060 -

Remarks:

U.C. Rally 11/7/66
in defiance of U.C. rules.

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DATE 9/14/89 BY SP1A66cm

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SERIAL	FILE
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FBI - [redacted]	

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100-54060 - 327

Our Traditional Liberties

On December 8th, 1964, the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, by a vote of 824 to 115, passed the now-legendary resolutions in support of the essential civil liberties demands of the Free Speech Movement. Since those days the "liberal" administration of Roger Heyns has attempted to persuade the Berkeley community that the December 8th Resolutions were merely the opinion of the Academic Senate. For those students who struggled for their liberties throughout the Fall of 1964, and especially for those who may go to jail or pay fines for their participation in the sit-in of December 2-3, this "merely opinion" interpretation must be **TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE**. For those unfamiliar with the events of 1964, we quote here the relevant paragraphs of the faculty resolutions:

"2. That the time, place, and manner of conducting political activity on the campus shall be subject to reasonable regulation to prevent interference with the normal functions of the university; that the regulations now in effect for this purpose shall remain in effect provisionally pending a future report of the Committee on Academic Freedom concerning the minimal regulations necessary.

"3. That the content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the University. Off-campus student political activity shall not be subject to University regulation. On-campus advocacy or organization of such activities shall be subject only to such limitations as may be imposed under section 2."

As in the Fall of 1964, so once again a flagrant violation of student civil liberties is at issue. Should the Chancellor decide to prohibit sound-amplified meetings in the Upper Student Union Plaza, both the spirit and the letter of the December 8th Resolutions would be rendered void. This is by no means a new question. During the FSM Clark Kerr attempted to satisfy the students with a "free" speech area in the Lower Student Union Plaza. The students strenuously objected on the grounds this would isolate them from the many passers-by who would constitute a potential audience. So the principle was early established that to be denied access to a large, potential audience of persons not initially interested in what one has to say is to be denied free speech in any meaningful sense. This principle was so generally and so readily adopted by all segments of the University community that there can be no doubt that it was this sense of "free speech" that was intended when the faculty declared that "the content of speech... should not be restricted by the University."

Education vs. Advocacy?

Because of the great clarity and acceptability of this argument, the administration has already begun a campaign to decide the matter on grounds other than those of student civil liberties. The December 8th Resolutions explicitly provide for "only such restrictions of speech or advocacy as shall constitute 'reasonable regulations to prevent interference with the normal functions of the University'". And the Committee on Academic Freedom, which submitted the Resolutions to the Senate, left no doubt as to its legislative intent by referring to "minimal regulations necessary." (emphases added). By contrast, the administration has recently tried to suppress the Black Power Conference on the grounds that it would not contribute to and further the educational purposes of the University. And only when --under protest-- Students for a Democratic Society allowed the administration to base their decision on their revised estimate of its educational value, did the administration grant permission for the conference to be held. But surely "to prevent interference" with the University's normal functions is a far weaker requirement than to contribute to and further those normal functions. The latter may well be a legitimate criterion for the administration to apply to meetings sponsored by the University; but the Dec. 8th Resolutions strictly forbid its application to meetings sponsored by campus organizations.

Why Move the Rallies?

As clear as this principle certainly is, some may not see how it applies to the question of removing amplified meetings to the Lower Student Union Plaza. Its application is evident, however, once we examine the arguments advanced for moving the microphones. We reject as unworthy of serious consideration the assertion that present arrangements create a carnival atmosphere, or that pedestrian traffic is substantially interfered with. The heart of the matter is more subtle, and not without some appeal to the academic mind. It is urged that precisely because of the greater difficulty of attracting crowds to rallies in the Lower Plaza (because of its isolation from the main flow of people passing Sproul Hall), persons addressing

ask questions in a small group, meetings held in the Lower plaza may be more likely to produce genuine dialogue than have some rallies in the Upper Plaza. Thus if the primary "normal" function of the University is the discovery and dissemination of truth, then since dispassion and questioning contribute to and further this purpose, it could be argued that moving amplified meetings to the Lower Plaza contributes to and furthers the normal functions of the University. We must ask ourselves: Even if this were a valid argument, is it at all relevant? It is the opinion of a great many students, and the official position of many student organizations, that this argument is completely irrelevant, and that its propagation is a grave danger to the foundations of civil liberty in this community. For although moving the meetings might further the legitimate purposes of the University, retaining the meetings on the steps constitutes no unreasonable interference with the normal functions of the University. Indeed, whereas meetings in the Lower Plaza can disturb uninterested persons in three eating areas, meetings in the Upper Plaza can disturb uninterested persons in only one eating area, the Golden Bear Restaurant!

The Value of Persuasion

Recently a meeting was held in the Upper Plaza during which the microphone was opened to whichever persons in the audience desired to speak--a practice which all members of the University community must hope to encourage, a practice which furthers the purposes of the University. But let us not fall into the dangerous error of penalizing those whose primary intention may be to persuade rather than to enlighten. The central intent of the December 8th Resolutions was to protect advocacy. It is this civil libertarian purpose which we must further. And let us not underestimate the purely educational values of unrestricted persuasive speech. In a society which increasingly has become a captive audience for a dangerously narrow spectrum of political opinion, the interests and purposes of a free university are best served when the University community makes available to all dissenters the most effective access to an audience not particularly interested--initially--in what those dissenters have to say. We have shown above that the "educational" argument for moving the microphones is irrelevant; but now we see that it is also only partly valid. For who would suggest that the wide range of opinion regularly presented from the Sproul Hall Steps is a normal part of instruction at the University? And who any longer expects genuine debate in the mass media? Clearly, then, it is the duty of the University in pursuit of its primary educational objectives to make the very center of campus life--the Upper Plaza--the site of unlimited debate and dissent.

During the Free Speech Movement it was believed by many faculty members and students that the administration was attempting to crush the Civil Rights Movement on campus by curtailing student civil liberties. Since that time organizations opposed to the war in Vietnam have borne the worst of administration harassment. Most recently the University administration has sought to suppress the Black Power Conference. So far from making dissent the center of campus life, the administration has repeatedly tried to restrict, harass and isolate those whose opinions and activities are most in conflict with American society. Now that the Chancellor is contemplating an end to the tradition of amplified meetings in the Upper Plaza, many students can only believe the administration is once again giving more weight to external economic interest and political opinion than to the University's internal liberty.

A Policy for Freedom

The faculty resolutions of December 8th, 1964, were a statement of what University policy should be. Few maintain that only the policy of those resolutions is legal, that every more restrictive policy is unconstitutional. In pursuing its traditional harassment of student political organizations the administration may have been acting (just) within the law. But ought University policy restrict dissent merely because the restriction is legal? The present, "final" political activities regulations are a catalogue of petty harassments worthy more of a prison than of a great university. Yet the intent of the December 8th Resolutions was "minimal regulations necessary" "to prevent interference with the normal functions of the University." The administration may not be seeking to break the law, but we demand a much higher standard. We will accept no University policy in the area of civil liberty which is more restrictive than the policy of the faculty resolutions of December 8th, 1964. We will defend our traditional liberties. We will defend the Sproul Hall Steps.

Distributed by Local 1570, American Federation of Teachers, for CCO

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BY SP1016
INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-1-68

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Regents Will Meet on Savio

Possible Fight on His Readmission

By DAVID NEWMAN
DC Editorial Page Editor

DAVIS — A conservative member of the University Board of Regents will today ask the Board to hold a public hearing on the re-admission to the University of Mario Savio.

John Canaday, of Burbank, in a letter to the other 23 members of the Board also asked for a hearing on whether the controversial San Francisco Mime Troupe should be allowed to hold further performances on University campuses.

Canaday would not release to newsmen yesterday the contents of his letter.

Kerr to Reply
University President Clark Kerr said yesterday he had a statement prepared in answer to Canaday, but would not reveal his position in advance. He also refused to speculate on what action the Regents would take on Canaday's requests.

Kerr's past position on the matter of Savio's readmission has been that the matter is up to Berkeley Chancellor Roger W. Heyns.

Reached at his Berkeley home yesterday, Savio said, "I'll wait to see if anything happens at the meeting tomorrow."

He stressed that he doesn't like

to talk to newsmen, but added, "If something happens, you can be sure I'll have something to say to them."

Savio, leader of the 1964 Free Speech Movement, left the University to study in England last year, but applied for re-admission for the fall quarter. His application was denied because it was filed too late, but Savio has reapplied for admission for the winter quarter.

Admission Standards

The Academic Senate usually sets standards for admission, but its action can be overruled by the Regents.

Action on Savio's application is still pending, according to Chancellor Heyns.

Canaday's secondary target, the Mime Troupe, was charged by the State Senate Un-American Activities Committee with performing lewd shows in previous performances at the Berkeley and Davis campuses of the University.

At the beginning of this quarter the Mime Troupe was banned from the Davis campus for an indefinite period by Davis Chancellor Emil Mrak.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Californian
U. of Calif.
Berkeley, Calif.

Date:

Edition: Daily

Author:

Editor: XXXX Pub.: Assoc. Stu-

Title: XXXX dents of the U. of Calif.

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 1968	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-19-89 BY SP10/CCM

100-54060-32

Atthowe Suite

In the other action, the Regents put off until today a discussion of the suit currently being made against the University by Oakland housewife Patricia Atthowe to make public the names of officers of student organizations from last year.

The discussion was scheduled for a closed session following the joint meeting yesterday of three of the Regents' standing committees, but was postponed when Regent Catharine Hearst asked that the case be discussed in open session.

After some debate, the Regents agreed to put the matter off until the meeting of the full Board this afternoon.

The University administration had been prepared to comply with Mrs. Atthowe's request, but Alameda Superior Court Judge Leonard Dieden last week issued a temporary restraining order against the University in response to a suit by law student Michael Eisen.

In other action, the Regents' Committees on Educational Policy, Finance, and Grounds and Buildings approved requests by Kerr for almost \$4.9 million in University opportunity funds.

The funds were allocated, pending final approval by the full Board this afternoon, to a variety of projects, including:

- The Education Abroad Program, with increased requests this coming year due to the projected opening of two new centers in Beirut, Lebanon, and Jerusalem;

- Summer faculty fellowships and senior faculty fellowships, designed to permit professors to continue research during summer vacations and while on sabbatical leave;

- Undergraduate fellowships, which would permit a small number of undergraduates the opportunity to do individual research under professors;

- Fellowships for the improvement of courses, which would finance

work by professors in making major overhauls of the structure of courses. One example given was the revamping of the Biology course at Berkeley this year; and

- Student aid, including allocations for Regents' Scholarships and Fellowships, Regents' loans, NDEA matching funds, Educational Opportunity Project Funds, President's Scholarships and Community Service Project Offices.

Another measure recommended for approval by the full Board today was a plan by which the University would acquire certain Medicare funds, through co-operation with the Harbor General Hospital in Los Angeles.

The plan, which involves an agreement between the University, the hospital and the hospital's staff, would grant to the University funds normally paid to doctors for treating patients under Medicare and CalMed programs.

Chancellor Franklyn P. Murphy of UCLA called the proposed program "unique," and added, "There's a good deal of altruism here on the part of the hospital and the doctors."

The funds will be made available to UCLA's medical school to aid in the school's research and teaching program at the hospital.

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Will be processed in HQ 100-151646

Re: University of California

- ☒ For your information: Document is identified as: 2-page teletype
from San Francisco to HQ, dated 11-4-66

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

SF 100-54060-329

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

UC Officials Silent on Savio's New Challenge

University of California officials today maintained silence over a symbolic act of civil disobedience by Mario Savio — his first in nearly two years.

The controversial leader of the 1964-65 Free Speech Movement defied campus authorities by passing out half a dozen leaflets at a "Save Our Steps" noon rally Friday before 4000 people at Sproul Hall.

He said his act was intended to lead to a judicial test of campus rules for "time, place and manner" of political activity, a set of detailed regulations he described as "more befitting for a prison than a university."

Savio's leaflet, entitled "Traditional Liberties," was a philosophical attack on a proposal that would have the effect of ending rallies on the Sproul Hall steps.

Other speakers, including Bettina Aptheker, a self-acknowledged Communist, made similar attacks.

Savio, the long-haired star of the show, has applied for re-admission to UC in January as a junior in physics.

If university officials take formal notice of Savio's rule violation, and if normal procedure is followed, he will not gain re-admission unless given formal approval by Dean of Students Arleigh Williams after a hearing.

The rules prohibit non-students from distributing leaflets.

In the past year a number of non-students, including another FSM leader, Jack Weinberg, have been refused re-admission on similar grounds.

Savio's re-admission has already been opposed by several members of the Board of Regents and by Max Rafferty, state superintendent of public instruction.

But Dean Williams and Chancellor Roger Heyns were unavailable for comment yesterday on whether the Savio incident would bar his re-admission.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

S.F. Sunday Examiner and Chronicle

Pg. 8 S.F. Examiner
Section I

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 11-6-66
Edition: Sunday
Author:
Editor: Edmund J. Dooley
Title: MARIO SAVIO

Character:
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Classification:
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☐ Being Investigated

*Accompanying
photo sent
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Savio Back At Sproul Hall Steps

BERKELEY — Mario Savio returned to the Sproul Hall steps yesterday to rally a University of California crowd of 5,000 to defense of "student civil liberties."

Savio, a non-student seeking readmission, flailed the administration for its "outrageous action" in considering a campus recommendation that microphones be moved from the Sproul Hall steps.

Likeing the situation to that of 1964, when the Free Speech Movement (FSM) evolved and a Sproul Hall sit-in ensued, Savio declared he did not have to predict "what would happen" if rallies were ordered off the steps.

The former FSM chieftain proclaimed and performed an act of defiance for television cameras, handing bystanders copies of a handbill he said he helped to write. Technically, only university personnel and students may distribute such literature on campus.

A previous speaker had said, "This is not Mario's rally," but other speakers alluded to his impending appearance and the audience grew in anticipation as the noon hour progressed.

Savio expressed "amazement that the university would consider such an outrageous action" as moving rallies using loudspeakers, to the lower student union plaza, which he called "the pit." Chancellor Roger W. Heyns is expected to decide next week whether to relocate the rallies as proposed by the campus rules committee.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pg.4-B Oakland Tribune

Oakland, Calif.

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Title: Wm.F.Knowland

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

UC Leaflet Rule Defied By Savio

By LYNN LUDLOW
Examiner Staff Writer

University of California officials were silent in Berkeley today about a symbolic act of civil disobedience by Mario Savio, his first in nearly two years.

The controversial leader of the Free Speech Movement in 1964-65 defied campus authorities by passing out a half dozen leaflets at a "save our steps" noon rally attended by about 4000 persons on the steps of Sproul Hall.

He said the act is intended to lead to a judicial test of campus rules for "time, place and manner" of political activity, a set of detailed regulations he described as "more befitting of a prison than a university."

The leaflet, written by Savio and labeled "Traditional Liberties," was a lengthy philosophical attack on a proposal that would have the effect of ending rallies on the Sproul Hall steps.

BETTINA HEARD

Similar attacks were voiced by preceding speakers, including Savio's lieutenant in the FSM, Bettina Aptheker, the self-acknowledged Communist.

But it was clear that the star was Savio, who abdicated as FSM orator in April, 1965, with the remark that he preferred not to become a "Napoleon." Since his return to Berkeley last April, he has remained in self-imposed seclusion.

Other participants in the protest rally were surprised

at the leafletting by Savio, 23, who has applied for readmission to UC in January as a junior in physics.

MAY BE BAR

If UC observers took formal note of the rule violation and if normal procedure is followed, Savio will not be readmitted without formal approval from the Dean of Students following a hearing.

The rules prohibit non-students from distributing leaflets. In the last year a number of nonstudents, including another FSM leader, Jack Weinberg, have been refused admission on similar grounds.

Savio's readmission had already been opposed by several members of the UC Board of Regents, including Max Rafferty, State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

EXPLAINS

Savio explained, "What I have just done in no way interferes with the normal functioning of the university."

The phrase was taken from the Academic Senate's resolution of Dec. 8, 1964, which led to adoption of most of the FSM demands.

He said the act would undoubtedly lead "crackpot politicians" to "get all hopped up and, as they have many times in the past, they will interfere with the normal functions of the university."

Richard Hafner Jr., public affairs officer on the Berkeley campus, said Chancellor Roger W. Heyns was "too busy" yesterday to give the incident thoughtful consideration.

DECISION DELAY

Dean of Students Arleigh Williams and Dean of Men Jim Lemmon were out of town.

Heyns had been expected to issue his decision this week on whether loudspeaker systems should be banned from the Sproul Hall steps. Hafner said the decision will not be announced "until sometime later."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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4 S.F. Examiner

San Francisco, Calif.

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Edition: ~~Final~~ News
Author: Lynn Ludlow
Editor: Edmund J. Dooley
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UC Gives Savio a Big Fat No Fear He'd Not 'Comply'

Mario Savio's brief re-entry last week into campus politics today cost him his opportunity to enroll again as a student at the University of California, Berkeley.

The erstwhile leader of the Free Speech Movement was advised in a letter from William B. Boyd, vice chancellor for student affairs, that his application for readmission to the university has been denied.

Although Boyd added that Savio might apply before Friday for a hearing "on the facts," he declared in the letter that Savio's actions of the past few days "strongly support the conclusion . . . you would not comply with university regulations with which you did not agree."

Savio announced at a "Save Our Steps" rally on the campus last Friday that he would deliberately break a rule against distribution of leaflets by non-students. He then passed out a half-dozen handbills.

WANTED TEST

His action, he said then, was aimed at sparking a court test of the validity of university rules governing the time, place and manner for student demonstrations and political activities.

The rally, at which some 400 students were present, protested a proposed transfer of student gatherings from the steps of Sproul Hall by forbidding use of a university public address system on the steps.

Savio is still free on bail pending his appeal from a conviction for trespassing and resisting arrest as a result of the December, 1964, mass arrests in the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley.

WOULD BE JUNIOR

He returned to the campus last April, following a trip to England and New York, and applied for readmission as a junior majoring in physics.

Since then, except for last Friday's foray, he has studiously abstained from campus politics.

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100-54060-333

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

HERB CAEN

... Mario Savio, whose application to resume his studies at Cal was turned down yesterday, has a convenient place in which to drown his sorrows; he's working as a bartender at the Step-penwolf on San Pablo Ave. ...

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Savio Is Refused UC Readmission

Mario Savio was denied readmission to the University of California yesterday for deliberately flouting its rules as a nonstudent.

The bushy-haired leader of the 1964 Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley campus appeared at a Save Our Steps rally on the Sproul Hall steps Friday and, in defiance of regulations, passed out leaflets.

He said yesterday he felt this was "a dramatic and symbolic act of education" about what he had previously branded "campus regulations more befitting a prison than a university."

LETTER

In a letter advising Savio of the action, William B. Boyd, vice chancellor for student affairs, said the university is inclined to act favorably in conduct cases wherein the applicant "shows reasonable promise that he will obey the rules and regulations."

"The evidence of recent days," Boyd said, "far from suggesting such an assumption in your case, strongly supports the conclusion that, if readmitted, you would not comply with university regulations with which you did not agree."

The letter referred to his "deliberate violation of campus regulations on the plaza last Friday."

APPEAL

Boyd accorded him the opportunity to appeal, on or before Friday, for a hearing "on the facts upon which this decision is based."

Savio said he was surprised a hearing had not been held before the action was taken and said he would request a hearing "not only on the facts but on the validity of the rules -- obviously, I can't deny I passed out the leaflets."

"If these hearings are not bound by the December 8 Resolutions (1964), then I consider the school unworthy of my attendance," Savio said.

"I'm only speculating, but maybe the chancellor (Roger Heyns) is fearful that Ronnie Reagan will win the election and wants to indicate that he doesn't need an investigation, that the university can provide internal protection."

Savio said he didn't think a student protest would grow out of the refusal for re-enrollment, but felt certain turmoil would result from a removal of rallies from Sproul steps to the lower Student Union plaza, as recommended to minimize the disturbance created by the loudspeakers.

He was elected Monday night to a six-man steering committee of the Council of Campus Organizations, formed last week to protest the proposed Sproul steps ban.

The university said this was the only denial on such grounds so far this term for enrollment in the winter quarter.

Savio was denied readmission to the fall quarter because he had applied too late. He had dropped out of UC after the massive Sproul Hall sit-in and had gone to England where he attended St. Catherine's College, Oxford.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2 S.F. Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

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Edition: Final Home
Author:
Editor: Chas. deYoung
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MARIO SAVIO

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MARIO SAVIO AT UC LAST FRIDAY
Act of defiance cost him admission

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Savio Denied Permission To Re-enter UC 2nd Time

(Continued from Page 1)

hearing on the facts upon which this decision is based, he should notify Boyd by this Friday before the decision is made final.

Savio had applied for re-admission to UC's first quarter in August of this year, but the Registrar's office informed him that his application had come in too late for consideration for the opening quarter.

Savio said he planned to take advantage of the appeal and would "call for a public hearing and go to it."

In the event of denial of his appeal, Savio said, "if I'm not re-admitted and the Dec. 8 resolutions are not upheld, in my opinion, the university is not worthy of my attendance."

If Savio's appeal is denied, the denial of request for readmission would stand for an indefinite period, UC officials said.

'Reasonable Promise'

In justifying its decision, the UC administration advised Savio, "in admissions cases, where conduct is an issue, the practice of this university has been to favor admission or readmission where the applicant shows reasonable promise that he will obey the rules and regulations.

"The evidence of recent days, far from suggesting such an assumption, in your case strongly supports the conclusion that if readmitted you would not comply with university regulations with which you did not agree. Your reported statement of Oct. 31 advocating disobedience of duly constituted authority has been followed by your similar public statements and deliberate violation of campus regulations on the plaza last Friday."

handed out with the ruberic of authorized campus groups, "for the CCO."

Others elected to the CCO Board include Dan Rosenthal, of Cal Conservatives for Political Action; David for New Politics; Chris Oakleaf, Podium; Craig Murphy, University Young Democrats; and Mike Smith, a student suspended last year in the Peace Rights Organizing Committee fracas, representing Students for a Democratic Society.

Savio, who will be 23 in December, last attended the university in the fall of 1964, when his studies were interrupted by the FSM, which he played a large part in organizing.

He spent the following academic year in England, attending St. Catherine's College at Oxford, and returned to Berkeley last spring, remaining out of involvement in public issues until the past few weeks.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Berkeley Daily
Gazette

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Editor: Gerald A. Beatty

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Savio Asks Protest Pledges

Mario Savio, stormy petrel of the University of California, sprang into action again yesterday, urging students to violate the rules if the administration "institutes any policy which seriously curtails or eliminates" student rallies on the Sproul Hall steps.

The bush-haired non-student spoke with permission of the university and in behalf of the Council of Campus Organizations. He drew an indifferent crowd of about 300.

Savio called upon students to sign a "declaration of intent," that they would joint sponsor an illegal rally if the steps are forbidden them, and speak at the rally, and attend no post-rally hearings unless their own specific rules are met.

The university announced later in the day that disciplinary proceedings against two members of the campus local of the American Federation of Teachers — Brian O'Brien and David McCullough — have ended.

Both former teaching assistants were accused of violating university regulations by failing to inform authorities that several hundred young people involved in

Oakland's school boycott last month were coming to the Dean of Students Arleigh Williams said charges against O'Brien had been dismissed and that McCullough was given an "official warning."

campus to attend a series of civil rights meetings.

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32 S.F. Chronicle

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800 Students March To Petition Chancellor

By CHRIS SMITH
DC Staff Writer

A crowd of about 800 students marched to Chancellor Roger W. Heyns' office at 1 p.m. yesterday to present him with a petition urging the retention of sound-amplified rallies on the Sproul Steps.

The petition was accepted by William B. Boyd, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs.

Leader of the march, Ira Riskin, a member of the Council of Campus Organizations (CCO) shouted as he marched toward Heyns' office, "We are fighting for the abstract right of advocacy."

According to the CCO, the petition was signed by 3000 students.

The crowd waited outside Dwinelle for about 20 minutes while Riskin, accompanied by about 20

students, reporters, and TV cameramen, attempted to present Heyns with the petition.

'Negating the Will'

Riskin told newsmen that if the Chancellor would not see him, Heyns would be "negating the will of a large portion of students on campus."

In spite of the turmoil, Riskin emphasized that "I don't want to interfere with the normal functioning of the University."

While the crowd waited for Heyns, Vice-Chancellor Boyd came out of his office and said he would accept the petition on the part of the Chancellor.

Boyd said Heyns was "too busy" to see them.

The group then left the Chancellor's office and rejoined the larger crowd as they regrouped on Sproul Steps.

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Berkeley, Calif.

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T: XXXX dents of the U. of Calif.

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At a noon rally, Mike Lerner, also of the CCO, pleaded for the faculty to act immediately to insure the "integrity" and "tranquility" of the community by organizing and voicing their opinions to the administration.

"Where is the faculty in all this? They must use their influence in the next two weeks to do whatever they can," he said.

Following the presentation at the Chancellor's office there was an impromptu rally held on the Sproul Steps.

Bettina Aptheker, a CCO member, said solemnly: "Heyns took a knife and cut the heart out of the Dec. 8 resolutions. He is trying to regulate political activity on the campus and that is totally unacceptable," she said.

"It will be resisted with everything in our power. What he did yesterday was an atrocity against the morality and integrity of our entire generation," she said.

Suggestions

Mario Savio, member of the CCO interim executive committee, suggested various possible steps that the faculty might follow to maintain the Dec. 8 resolutions.

He said the faculty could petition, send delegations to the Chancellor or perhaps even call a special meeting of the Academic Senate.

In discussing the time restrictions placed on the noon rallies

he emphasized the significance of Heyns' elimination of amplification during the first and last ten minutes of the noon hour.

Savio said the first ten minutes were the most important because they were needed to attract an audience from the persons walking past the steps.

Savio concluded by saying: "I will never be party to submitting the stipulations of the Dec. 8 Resolutions to a committee of my peers or Chancellor Heyns' peers or to God."



THE FIRST STAGE . . . Some of the approximately 800 students who marched on Chancellor Roger W. Heyns Dwinelle Hall office yesterday petitioning him not to move amplified rallies from Sproul Hall steps waiting outside.

—Daily Cal Photo by MIKE LOVAS

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CCO Elects Savio— Will Petition Heyns

Mario Savio, former charismatic leader of the Free Speech Movement, was elected last night to be a member of the six-man interim executive committee of the Council of Campus Organizations (CCO).

The group also decided to present a petition which has been circulated by its member groups for the past week to Chancellor Roger W. Heyns and the Academic Senate simultaneously at the Senate meeting this afternoon. This action was taken on the assumption that the Academic Senate will permit the CCO delegation to enter its meeting.

The petition is, in effect, a statement of opposition to the proposal that sound-amplified rallies be moved to the Lower Student Union Plaza. Over 2000 signatures have been collected, according to Karen Lieberman, of the Berkeley Students for a Democratic Society.

The group has asked that all persons having copies of signed petitions return them to a member organization's table in Sproul

Plaza before the Academic Senate meeting today.

The members of the newly elected interim executive committee, in addition to Savio, are: David Kolodney, Campus Community for New Politics; Chris Oakleaf, Podium; Craig Murphy, University Young Democrats; Dan Rosenthal, Cal Conservatives for Political Action; and Mike Smith (non-student). Berkeley Students for a Democratic Society.

The interim committee was restricted from formally negotiating with the administration for the week they will hold office by the delegates from the 19 campus groups who attended the meeting.

CCO adopted as policy and has recommended that all its member groups participate in the establishment of a thoroughfare, or "corridor," through the audience area of Sproul Plaza during rallies.

This corridor, which was envisaged as being perhaps eight or ten feet wide, was suggested as a means of combating "the administration's least illegitimate issue," that of blocking traffic during rallies held in Sproul Plaza.

Last night's meeting was a continuation of one held earlier in the day which established three permanent committees. The group has not decided on any philosophical bases for existence other than the "defense of the Dec. 8th resolutions."

Plans for formulating a basis for permanent existence as a coalition of campus groups will be discussed at future meetings after the "crisis" of the Sproul Hall steps has been met, delegates said.

A permanent executive committee will be elected at the regular meeting of CCO next Monday.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Broken Rules**UC Says
No to Savio****By RICH WEINHOLD**
DC Staff Writer

Former Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio said yesterday he will fight the University's decision to deny him readmission.

In a letter to Savio, William B. Boyd, vice chancellor for student affairs, said the decision was made because of Savio's "deliberate violation" last Friday of a University rule prohibiting non-students from distributing literature on campus.

(The letter was released to the public by the administration yesterday.)

At the same rally at which he handed out leaflets Savio hinted that if amplified noon rallies were relegated to the Lower Student Union Plaza, he might advocate a student strike.

Savio recently applied for readmission to the winter quarter as a junior in physics. He spent last year in England and New York. He has been in the Berkeley area since April of this year.

Boyd's letter said that in cases where conduct is an issue, the University favors admission or readmission when the applicant shows reasonable promise that he will obey the rules and regulations.

The letter added that Savio's statements and actions did not indicate that he would do so.

Boyd wrote that Savio could have a hearing if he desired, but that Boyd must have word by this Friday. Any hearing, he said, would be an "informal hearing to ascertain the facts."

Boyd said yesterday that he has not yet heard from Savio.

"The initiative is his, and I think it's up to me to say as little as possible," Boyd said.

Savio, meanwhile, said he would not accept a "hearing on the facts." He said he wants a hearing on the basis of the rule.

He said he will accept no hearing which does not include judicial review of the rule in question.

Savio "insists" on a public hearing before the faculty, conducted with the "December 8th" resolutions as the basic principle.

Boyd, however, said he assumed he would hear Savio's case himself.

The December 8 resolutions, which were overwhelmingly approved by the Academic Senate shortly after the Sproul Hall sit-in in 1964, provided that "the time, place and manner of conducting political activity on the campus shall be subject to reasonable regulation to prevent interference with the normal functions of the University."

The resolutions are not binding on the administration however.

Savio contended that his distribution of leaflets last Friday did not interfere with the "normal functioning" of the University and therefore that his breaking the rule should not jeopardize his application.

Savio said he will seek a lawyer today to defend him but said "I want to control the case."

He predicted that there will be turmoil on campus every six weeks "if we do not win the rights of due process and judicial review."

If these "rights" are not won,

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he said, the only means to challenge rules will be by fighting: civil disobedience and leaflet writing.

Savio claimed that there is a precedent for holding hearings with the Dec. 8 Resolutions as a basic principle: the case of the temporary ban on Spider Magazine in the Spring of 1965.

The reason Savio gave for basing hearings on the Dec. 8 Resolution is so that decisions of the disciplinary committee may be appealed in court.

He said that if the committee did not then follow its own internal rules (i.e., the Dec. 8 Resolutions), the committee's decisions could be appealed in court.

"If we can appeal cases from University hearings to the appellate courts, then we are fine," Savio said.

"Some aspects" of the administration decision may be put before the Academic Freedom Committee of the Academic Senate today, according to committee member Leon Henkin, a mathematics professor. Henkin declined to commit himself before the committee meets.

Several Sproul Plaza table-sitters said yesterday they were appalled at Boyd's decision, and attacked the literature distribution rule as "petty."

"Legally, the administration might have a case," conceded Kathy Verner, who was tending the legalize abortion table, but "the value to the academic community of having the man around is enough to outweigh any petty infractions of the rules."

Others quickly saw political significance in the timing of the

announcement: it was not released before election day so that it wouldn't hurt Brown, said one.

An ASUC Senator said the decision is "tactically unwise in view of the student unrest that is already surrounding the (Sproul) Steps situation."

Pete Benjaminson, men's residence hall rep, considered the situation analogous to the patterns that culminated in the FSM. There is now a "persecution of leaders" and alliances are forming similar to those in 1964, he said.

The campus administration, he said, is underestimating student reaction.

Martin Malia, a professor of history, disagreed. "History doesn't repeat itself . . . there will be no new FSM," he said.

Benjaminson said Savio "provoked them to the point where they could do little else."

Another ASUC senator was astounded to hear of the rejection. "They really followed through with it," gasped Jane Margolis, women's co-op and boarding house rep.

She, like Benjaminson, expected that students' reaction would be considerable, but "I don't know if it could reach the extremes of the FSM," she said.

Faculty opinion was varied.

"What he [Savio] said Friday is that the Movement, not the Chancellor, is sovereign on the plaza . . . and the Chancellor can't let that one go by and remain Chancellor," Malia said.

Malia, emphatically supported the administration decision. "Savio in his best days symbolized a number of very important values, albeit in an exaggerated fashion."

"Therefore, it is unfortunate that by his theatrical, yet potentially serious challenge to campus rules last Friday, he left the Chancellor absolutely no choice," Malia said.

"He made his readmission a question of legitimate academic order or minority disruption," Malia continued.

"The Chancellor could only choose to defend the integrity of the University, and the faculty can only choose to support the Chancellor, and they will do so almost to a man."

The "almost" did not include Morris Hirsch, a math professor, who argued that Savio's application was denied "because of his political opinions and the influence he might have on the students."

"The status of a non-student on the campus is distinctly different from that of the student, he said, but then, Mario is not a typical non-student. 'They're trying not to make special rules for Savio.'"

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Heyns: 'Won't be Coerced' Attacks Sproul Rallies; Puts Them 'On Trial'

By PEGI HENDERSON
DC Education Writer

In an unusually strong speech yesterday, Chancellor Roger W. Heyns attacked the "coercive" nature of sound-amplified rallies held on the Sproul Hall steps. He said such rallies could remain there only on a "trial" basis.

At a meeting of the Academic Senate, Heyns set down three new guidelines by which he would judge the future nature of the speeches from the Sproul Hall steps.

In perhaps his strongest statement since becoming Chancellor a year ago, Heyns warned, "The days of doing business in this campus by coercion or the threat of coercion are over."

"The days of influencing opinion or administration policy by such means are over. Where there is coercion there is neither freedom of expression or action."

Heyns left no doubt that he considered amplified Sproul rallies a prime instrument of this coercion.

Heyns continually referred to the microphone on the Steps as a "weapon," and charged those who used it with trying to make their points by coercion.

Heyns warned that if there are recurrences of actions such as Mario Savio's "public, deliberate, and provocative rule violation" at a noon rally on the Steps last Friday, the "trial" period will be

over and the rallies will be moved from the steps to the Lower Student Union Plaza.

Heyns also delineated the reasons for and against moving the rallies.

He made it clear that he was against having the Sproul rallies retained, but that strong opinion against the move was the major reason for deferring the decision until the rallies on the steps have been given a test period under his new regulations.

The 300 faculty present responded to Heyns' 15-minute statement with a 20 second ovation, probably the most enthusiastic response he has drawn from the faculty.

In an appeal to stop threats, Heyns said, "The stability we need can be achieved if we are responsive to informed and freely expressed opinion. It can never be responsive to threats."

Heyns' three new regulations are:

- "To deal with the complaints of traffic, noise, and captive audience, sound amplification will begin at 12:10 p.m. and end at 12:50 p.m., to allow class and office-bound crowds to pass through;

(Rallies presently begin at noon

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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and end about 1 p.m.)

- "We will limit the volume so that it is less obtrusive," and

- "We intend a more strict enforcement of the standard of conduct against those who use our free forum for slander, intimidation and deliberate misrepresentation."

An administrative decision on the use of the Sproul Steps has been pending since the beginning of the quarter.

The Campus Rules Committee, advisory to the chancellor, recommended last spring that amplified rallies be moved to the Lower Student Union Plaza, labeled the "pit," by those against the move.

At an October Academic Senate meeting Heyns promised a final decision on the steps within two or three weeks.

Yesterday, he stated emphatically that he believed the present situation is not a satisfactory one.

While he listed student and faculty opinion against the move as a major reason for deferring the

decision, Heyns warned that moves to influence his decision by coercion would not be tolerated.

Heyns listed several reasons he was against the present rally situation.

While mentioning the often-cited reasons for moving the rallies, such as interference with classes, traffic and administrative work, Heyns dwelled mainly on the manner in which the rallies are conducted.

One was that speakers continually attack the University on the steps.

He said the microphone has come to be a "weapon capable of being turned against the values and activities of the community itself, and people are afraid that it will be so used.

"This use and continued threat of such use constitute another serious objection to the microphone in its present location. If it continues to represent this kind of threat, it must be moved.

"Fear of the consequences of action taken to protect the academic community will not inhibit our taking the necessary steps."

Heyns also blasted the content of the speeches.

"We are unintentionally fostering a style of speech that is often vicious in intent, dishonest, laced with slander, and character assassination, indifferent to evidence and aruth, contemptuous of disagreement and often charged with hatred."

"I am not impressed with the quality of our public forum and

neither are most of our visitors."

Another reason Heyns listed was that the microphone is primarily an organizational weapon, not a forum for discussion. "Its frequent use is coercive and its main target is the University itself."

He also said most campus rules violations occur at amplified rallies and that most of the "persistent misinformation on the campus stems from the microphone."

"The governance of this University is just too difficult and too unrewarding and in the end too boring with this powerful weapon where it is, inhibiting the development of other methods of expression."

"His fourth argument was that the free forum is not exactly free, because it tends to fall into the hands of a very few groups and a small number of individuals.

Another reason was that a crowd small enough not to interfere with people in the area can be addressed without amplification, while a larger crowd disrupts traffic.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Faculty Support Sought on Rallies

By DAVID NEWMAN
DC Ed Page Editor

In a relatively calm response to Chancellor Roger W. Heyns' actions regarding the Sproul Steps, the Council of Campus Organizations voted last night to ask for faculty support of the use of the steps for amplified-sound rallies and hinted at the possibility of disobedience of campus rules if no action were taken by the faculty.

The specific motion passed also called for a leaflet to appear today "discussing some of the issues," and a series of leaflets over the next two weeks in an attempt to reach both the campus and general communities, to elicit the support of those "who have supported us in the past."

Also raised was the denial by the administration of FSM leader Mario Savio's request for readmission to the University. However, Savio said he was not in favor of making his fight with the administration one of the issues in the battle over the use of the Sproul steps.

Savio said he was "philosophically opposed to student movements on behalf of individual persons."

There was general agreement at the meeting, attended by most of the campus political and social action groups, that Heyns' action was the first step in an eventual banning of all rallies from the steps.

The suggestion of possible disobedience of campus regulations came in a motion which asked the faculty to "do everything in their power to preserve one-hour amplified rallies on the steps of Sproul Hall and to avoid any further attempts at interference with the rallies as they have been in the past year and a half."

A second part of the motion said the CCO "has been and will be considering violating any new regulations which would change the rallies from their present form."

All the speakers at the meeting emphasized the importance of convincing the campus community that no confrontation with the administration was being sought, and that the violations would be considered only in the context of a refusal by the faculty to lend any support to the group's requests.

Heyns' move to cut ten minutes from each end of the rallies was seen both as a curtailment of the rallies themselves and as an attempt to limit their effectiveness by preventing speaking during the time when most students pass by the rally area.

Referring to the cut in length of the rallies from one hour to 40 minutes, Savio said, "Now we have two-thirds of free speech."

Savio also emphasized the importance of not "underestimating our support." He cited a poll of sororities which showed better than three to one support of continued use of the steps as a rally site.

When the ASUC Senate's motion for a two-week moratorium on the implementation of Heyns' new regulations was announced along with the administration's acceptance of it, there was general appreciation of the move, but no tremendous elation over the Senate's move.

Some people saw it as simply moving any eventual confrontation with the administration closer to finals and vacations when student strength would be harder to mobilize.

A move to ask the faculty for a specific reaffirmation of the Dec. 8, 1964 resolutions was rejected on the grounds that it would be almost impossible to muster the same degree of faculty support now.

The resolutions, passed by the Academic Senate five days after the arrests in Sproul Hall, called for no regulation of speech by the University beyond "reason-

able regulation of time, place, and manner," and stated a positive belief that the content of speech should in no way be controlled. That motion passed by more than seven to one, with more than 800 professors supporting it.

There will be noon rally today, half of which will be devoted to a discussion of the rally question. Bettina Aptheker and Michael Lerner will speak.

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Campus Groups Prepare for Rally Decision

By MIKE KERSTEN

Leaders of student political groups held a strategy session yesterday to prepare for an anticipated removal of amplified rallies from the Sproul Hall steps.

As one person at the meeting put it, a protest rally today on the steps may be the "first gun in a long war."

The Council of Campus Organizations voted to have Mario Savio, former leader of the Free Speech Movement, Dan Losenthal of Cal Conservatives, and Brian O'Brien of the TA's Union speak at a Vietnam Day Committee noon rally today as official representatives of the CCO.

The three speakers will talk during the second half of the rally and will deal with the impact of the possible change of amplified rally sites from the Sproul Hall Steps to the Lower Student Union Plaza.

Heyn's Decision

Chancellor Roger W. Heyns is expected to announce his decision concerning the proposed site change of amplified rallies next week.

The Campus Rules Committee, set up to review campus rules, voted last year to recommend to Heyns that the site of the rallies be moved, but that Heyns should consult this quarter with students to be affected by the move.

The administration has said Heyns has been doing this. If the decision is to move the rallies, it won't take effect, according to the administration, until the end of the fall quarter.

Bouncing his 11-month-old son, Stefan, on his lap, Savio advocated that the group stress a "civil liberties argument" to retain the present site of the rallies.

This argument was based largely on "undisputed facts" which would be more difficult for the administration to refute, Savio said.

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"The administration hopes to reduce demagoguery by such a move," which immediately raises the issue of freedom of speech, he said.

Savio suggested that questioning the administration's motivations in moving the rallies involved matters of interpretation which would inevitably bring on disagreement among students.

Such disagreement would seriously damage the effectiveness of any campaign launched against administration, should the rally site be changed, Savio said.

Savio said the Resolution of the Academic Senate, passed on Oct. 8, 1964, and called the "Dec. 8 Resolution" would provide much of the basis for an argument for not moving the rallies—that the Sproul steps are a legitimate site for rallies and rallies there do not interfere with the normal functioning of the University.

Motivations

In order to avoid splits over interpretations of the administration's motivations, students should rely on the civil liberties argument to arouse the concern of the student body over the possible change, Savio said.

Nevertheless, the students should be ready to present definite ideas outlining ideological analyses of the administration, he emphasized.

"We should not minimize internal pressures within the administration caused by social, economic and political forces," Savio continued.

Considering a possible effect of the CCO's present actions, Savio said "Heyns may get wind of what we're doing and decide it (the change in rally sites) was all a mistake."

21 Groups

Most of the 21 organizations at the meeting generally agreed with Savio's comments.

Paul Glusman, representative of the Campus Students for a Democratic Society, reiterated that the CCO in future actions "must make explicit that we have something to say" regarding the motivations behind the administration's actions.

Craig Murphy of the Young Democrats remarked that presenting the civil liberties argument against the move "is not in opposition to hardline and radical action."

Bettina Aptheker, who was a leader of the FSM, also emphasized the merit of advancing arguments questioning the administration's motives.

"We should not underestimate the political sophistication of the University student," she stated.

Maintain a Dialogue

"We need to maintain a dialogue among the University community on the political motivations of the administration," she said.

The CCO is a loosely knit off-campus group of on-campus organizations which is presently circulating a petition against moving amplified rallies. According to Karen Lieberman, former student and a VDC member, who chaired yesterday's meeting, the petition presently has about 2000 names.

The CCO consists of two representatives from the on-campus groups. These persons are the only ones with the power to vote on matters of CCO policy.

Major topics of debate were who would speak at today's noon rally and the content of their speeches.

After much discussion over what today's speakers should say, Savio was recognized. "We could sit here after a month's discussion and only reach the following conclusion. In talking about the Uni-

versity, there are outside forces and inside forces," he said.

"To me this is too theological, too abstract. Our spokesmen should feel free to interpret our general views in his own style," Savio said.

Mike Lerner, a representative of SDS, also agreed with the general consensus in saying that the civil liberties issue, though important, does not constitute the whole controversy.

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Savio Violates Rules

Mario Savio may have jeopardized his possible readmission as a University student by handing out leaflets at a "Stay Out of the Pit" noon rally Friday.

As a non-student, his distribution of what he called a "damn good leaflet which I had a good part in writing" violated campus rules, which he attacked as "more befitting a prison than a University."

The rally was to protest the possible removal of amplified sound rallies from the Sproul Hall steps to the lower Student Union plaza.

The rally was dubbed "The Pit" Friday by several speakers.

Former Leader

Savio, a former leader of the Free Speech Movement here in 1964, dropped out of school that year. He recently applied for readmission for next quarter.

A University spokesman said Friday night that the Dean's office is making a "routine report" to Chancellor Roger W. Heyns about Savio's action at the rally.

The spokesman said that Savio's action might also affect the Campus Vietnam Day Committee, which sponsored the rally.

In the face of some public criticism of Savio's possible readmission, the University has maintained that his application for readmission will be handled the same as that of any other student.

VDC speakers took up the first part of the noon hour, but the 4000 persons gathered in Sproul Plaza were there to hear Savio. "Greetings, friends," he began.

Not To Students

But he wasn't really talking to the students present.

"I want to talk even more to the faculty members who were our allies once but who are now unsure."

Savio, who was almost continually drowned out by a jazz band playing in the lower plaza, appealed to those faculty not present:

"I want the people with the preponderant power on this campus to stand up for what they once stood up for. I hope they

listen."

The Campus Rules Committee, which is advisory to the Chancellor, recommended last semester that sound-amplified rallies be moved from the Sproul Steps to the Lower Plaza.

The Committee also urged that the Chancellor talk with students before making any decision on possibly moving the rallies.

The Chancellor has said he has been discussing the matter with students and the faculty.

This Week

He is expected to make a decision on the matter this week, but if it is to change the site of the rallies, the actual moving of rallies will reportedly not take place until the end of the quarter.

Savio's argument for not moving the rallies centered on the famous Resolution of Dec. 8, 1964, passed overwhelmingly by the faculty Academic Senate at the height of the Free Speech Movement.

At that time, Savio said, the faculty "accepted the civil liberties demands" of students: "that speech and advocacy on campus be regulated only so the normal functions of the University shall be reasonably protected."

"But 'free speech' meant 'effective' free speech," Savio went on. "And my speech is not free unless I have access to a large audience, potentially interested."

Kerr

He recalled that "at the beginning of the FSM, [University President] Clark Kerr tried to pull off on us the use of the

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Lower Student Union Plaza.

"We said 'yes,' but 'not only the lower student union plaza.' Rallies there would have isolated us from many who might not have given a damn about what we said.

"We would not have had access to that large audience not initially interested."

And that, Savio said, "is the argument for the use of this area."

"But the only question at issue

here is 'does the use of the [Sprout] steps interfere with the function of the University?'

'Most Effective'

"This area is the most effective and does NOT constitute interference with the functioning of the University."

Savio said the campus administration was arguing that as the rallies on the steps were not good enough, they should be moved.

The administration is saying, he added, that it "ought to be made harder to get an audience so

speeches will be more like what people want to hear, and satisfy the conditions of decorum and dispassion which they think speeches should meet."

The second part of the administration's argument, Savio said, is that in a small group—as in the lower plaza—"it will be easier to ask questions."

But, he went on, at the same time, "they are not considering changing the number of large lecture classes on campus."

"Now, their argument is only

partially valid, but it is completely irrelevant."

Dec. 8

"Dec. 8 does not say anything," he emphasized, "about FURTHERING the function of the University. It only mentions PREVENTING interference with the functioning of the University."

"And these questions are different."

"I think the University greatly benefited from the purge during the FSM. But I seriously doubt that it will survive a second showing."

"But they may force it on us."

"Please!" he exclaimed, "If you believe in those resolutions—in what these steps symbolize—give us money for the ink and paper for the propaganda which is the life blood of any political movement."

And on the larger question of the campus rules:

"Even if they don't force it on us [taking away the rallies], the matter is not closed."

Arrest

"One person has been arrested as a non-student for handing out leaflets," Savio said.

(He did not name the non-student arrested, but during the summer non-student Jefferson Poland was arrested for handing out leaflets on campus.)

"But there is no judicial review in the Dec. 8 Resolution."

"There were no hearings for this non-student."

"And so the question wouldn't be [at a hearing] 'Did you do something that interfered with the normal functioning of the University?'"

"The question would be 'Did you hand out the leaflet?'"

"But what I just did," Savio said after handing out his leaflets,

"in no way interferes with the normal functioning of the University."

This Sort of Act

"And for this sort of act we can expect [State Senator] Hugh, The Inquisitor, Burns and Maxwell Rafferty [state superintendent of public instruction] and (University Regent John) Canaday and others to get upset."

"And then," Savio said, anticipating the applause that followed, "they will interfere with the normal functioning of the University."

"What manner of reasonable regulation is this?"

According to the Dec. 8 Resolution, Savio said, the University should only regulate the "time, place and manner" of political speech on campus.

"Now this leaflet has been handed out [previously] all over campus, so it is not a matter of place. And it has been handed out for the last two days, so it's not a matter of time."

"So it's a MANNER regulation."

'Non-Studently'

"This is sort of a non-studently manner of distribution."

Savio last spoke on the Sprout Hall steps April 27, 1965, when he stepped down from a leadership position of what was left of the FSM organization.

At that time he said his reason for stepping aside was because of the "excessively undemocratic nature" of the leadership of the organization. "The campus must organize itself," he said in an open letter to the campus two days later.

(A complete text of the Friday rally will be on sale today for 25 cents at The Academic Publishing Table in Sprout Plaza, according to Academic Publishing.)



Photo by Mike Lovas

ON THE STEPS AGAIN — At a Sproul Hall steps rally Friday, Mario Savio violates a campus rule forbidding distribution of leaflets on campus by non-students.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Savio Returns to Sproul Podium, Raps Officials, Hands Out Leaflets

By MARY ELLEN PERRY functions of the university when Mario Savio, articulate spokesman for the 1964 Free Speech Movement, was back on Sproul Hall steps at the University of California yesterday, breaking a university regulation and hinting he was

ready to lead a second student revolt.

About 4,000 attended the noon-day rally.

Savio, a former student who has applied for re-admission to the university after a year's study in England handed out leaflets against UC rules, and said he agreed his action might disrupt the normal functions of the university.

"But its public officials like State Senator Hugh Burns, Superintendent Max Rafferty, and Regent John Canaday who will interfere with the normal

functions of the university when they hear about this" (his passing out the leaflets), he said.

Later last night, the UC administration said it was "taking under consideration" Savio's deliberate action.

Savio spoke at a rally called by the campus Viet Nam Day

Committee to protest possible administrative action to move rallies from Sproul Hall steps

to the Lower Student Union Plaza, called "the pit" by dissenting students.

He said rallies at that location would be "isolated" from the stream of students entering the Sather Gate area, and would not attract "initially uninterested students."

At the Sproul Hall location, rallies often begin with small

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crowds which swell as passers-by stop out of curiosity.

His leaflet-passing was in illustration of his argument that the university can regulate only "time, place, and manner" of student political activity, according to the Dec. 8, 1964 resolutions approved by Berkeley faculty at the climax of the Free Speech.

Savio said the university was "in reality objecting to the non-student-like manner" in which he was passing leaflets.

His argument drew laughter and applause from the crowd.

"The administration's argument is irrelevant to the civil liberties" at issue in moving rallies off Sproul Hall steps, Savio, still gaunt and long-haired, said.

Savio appealed to the faculty who voted for the Dec. 8 resolutions to support students protesting the possible ban.

"We mean business," he said, adding, "A strike might be more effective and less painful to us than a sit-in."

Other speakers at the rally included Bettina Aptheker; Dan Rosenthal, member of Cal Conservatives for Political Action, who supported the protest against moving the rallies; and Brian O'Brien, president of the campus chapter of the American Federation of Teachers.



Mario Savio returned to Sproul Hall steps yesterday in a slashing speech.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Savio Re-admission Talks: Arrangements Still Pending

Mario Savio, former Free Speech Movement leader recently denied re-admittance to the University, is still undergoing procedural arrangements for hearings on the decision.

According to Vice-Chancellor of Student Affairs William B. Boyd, Savio and his lawyer Malcolm Burnstein met with Boyd last Tuesday evening, November 15, for a "discussion about procedures appropriate to the hearings and the scope of the hearings."

"Mr. Burnstein indicated that he'd be in touch to name a date," said Boyd. "I don't think there will be any early developments." Boyd noted that further discussion on the issue would probably not be taken up till early in December.

Savio's application for the Winter Quarter was rejected November 8 following a Sproul Steps rally on November 4, at which time Savio, a non-student, violated campus rules by passing out leaflets to four students.

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Savio, Aides in Confrontation With UC Officials

Thunderheads of a potential student revolt against University of California administration decisions on Sproul Hall steps rallies are gathering.

They swept closer yesterday as Mario Savio, flamboyant leader of the Free Speech Movement of 1964 and now a bartender, appeared in a rally and participated in a direct confrontation with Berkeley campus Chancellor Roger W. Heyns.

Savio, making his second dramatic appearance on campus in two weeks, laid out the philosophical framework for new student protests.

The noon rally yesterday was called by elements of the Council of CMAPUS Organizations (CCO) for presentation of a report on a meeting the evening before between CCO and top UC-Berkeley officers.

The Lineup

The meeting saw Vice Chancellor Earl F. Cheit and Vice Chancellor William B. Boyd square off against Savio, Karen Lieberman, Thomas Irwin, Bettina Aptheker, Dan Rosenthal, Joel Grier, Robert Mundy and Pat Iiyama.

represented by the CCO are protesting the administration decision to shorten the noon rallies by 20 minutes, allowing them to be held only between 12:10 and 12:55 p.m., which the administration said would go into effect next Tuesday, and any attempt to move the rallies from the steps to the Lower Student Union Plaza.

In this first confrontation between Savio and Chancellor Heyns, Savio told the Chancellor that if the rally time or area were altered, the "CCO would not feel morally obligated to follow the ruling."

If such a decision were executed he advised the CCO would take "expedient action."

Echoing the administration line during the FSM disturbance, Savio said the issue of the noon rally time and place was "non-negotiable."

At yesterday's rally Savio castigated Chancellor Heyns, calling him a "weather vane pointing the direction away from which the hurricane is blowing. The hurricane is blowing too strongly on the issue of the steps so he has decided to cut that down."

Savio stressed the point that free speech was at issue, and in the future, today's students might be considered the group that did the most to defend free speech in the second half of the twentieth century.

Other speakers at the rally were Ira Ruskin and Iiyama.

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KAREN LIEBERMAN is currently living with M.A. MILLER
and CARL BLOICE at 3048 Deakin Street, Berkeley, California.

ACTION: Route to interested agents.

11 - San Francisco (100-57879)
(1 - [REDACTED])
(1 - 100-54060) (MARIO SAVIO)
(1 - [REDACTED])
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(1 - KAREN LIEBERMAN)
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Savio Puts It On Line For BARB

"I want a hearing on what right the administration has to prevent me, a non-student, from putting out a leaflet on campus."

In an exclusive interview with BARB, Mario Savio pointed to the last paragraph of Vice Chancellor William B. Boyd's letter informing him "your application for admission . . . has been denied. . . if you wish to discuss this matter or have a hearing on the facts. . ."

"That's the whole point!" exclaimed Savio as I asked him what he was going to do about this last paragraph. "A hearing on the facts has no judicial review. It is not acceptable to me. The only hearing I will attend is on their right to deny me, a non-student, the right of putting out a leaflet on campus."

When I introduced myself to Savio as "a reporter from The BARB," his face broke out into a friendly smile.

I asked: "Is this another 'Ten Days That Shook The World'?"

"Not this," said Savio, pointing to the letter. "But the steps, yes."

Meanwhile, back at the "Savio Steps," Chancellor Roger Heyns, on the same day as the Savio-denial letter was issued, Tuesday, announced to the Academic Senate that he was "deferring" any action to move the noon rallies from Sproul Steps to "The Pit," the lower Student Union Plaza.

To save his face, he set up new rules which are reflected in his statement that "the steps had become a prize for those who take an anti-intellectual posture (and) use the microphone primarily as an organizational weapon not a forum for discussion."

Chancellor Heyns (as well as History Professor Martin Malia) has no sense of history; for the "Savio Steps" have now joined other famous steps.

The "Spanish Steps" of Rome, the "Odessa Steps" immortalized in Eisenstein's historic film "Cruiser Potemkin," the "City Hall Steps" of SF, the "Moscow Steps" of U.C. Prof. Stephen Smale - all have one thing in common: People use steps other than for walking.

The Establishment, however, throughout history has beaten up the people or hosed (or escorted them) off the steps because they take "an anti-intellectual posture"; i.e., they make speeches the Establishment don't like.

This point, of course, is always lost on these intellectual pigmies in power.

What made Heyns "defer indefinitely" any move to move the rallies from the steps was the rally on the steps last Friday where Mario Savio put out leaflets in full view of over 4,000 students.

This was the highlight of a united front of student groups, from the left to the right, in opposition to the administration's then-stated position of moving the students off the steps.

Bettina Aptheker, of the Campus Communist Party, told how Chancellor Strong (of the FSM days) "offered to spend thousands of dollars to build us a meeting place, anywhere, anyplace, but the steps. Every administration since then," she pointed out, "has wanted us off the steps."

Something there is that doesn't like a step.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 Berkeley Barb

Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 11/11/66
Edition: Weekly
Author:
Editor: Max Scheer
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9-19-89 BY SP1/ACM

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 11 1966	
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

100-54060-351

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b6
TO: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-57879)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: COUNCIL OF CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS
IS - C

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Date received 11/1/66	Received from (name or symbol number) [REDACTED] b2 b7D	Received by SA [REDACTED] b2 b7C
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) <input type="checkbox"/> in person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> by telephone <input type="checkbox"/> by mail <input type="checkbox"/> orally <input type="checkbox"/> recording device <input type="checkbox"/> written by Informant		

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date
Dictated 11/1/66 to [REDACTED] b6
b7C
Transcribed 11/2/66
Authenticated
by Informant 11/15/66

Date of Report

11/1/66

Date(s) of activity

10/31/66

Brief description of activity or material

Meeting of Council for Campus Organizations,

Westminister Hall, Bancroft Way and

Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, 10/31/66 b2
b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

On 11/15/66, informant furnished [REDACTED] are attached to the report. b2
b7D

RECOMMENDATION: Index all names [REDACTED]

16 - San Francisco (100-57879)
cc: 100-54060 (MARIO SAVIO)
100- [REDACTED] (SUZANNE SAVIO)
100-55359 (BUDDY STEIN)

100-53353 (JESSIE BURTIN)

100-50635 (BETTINA APTEKER)

100-57457 (PAUL GLUSMAN)

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Oakland, California
November 1, 1966

Meeting of Council for Campus
Organizations, Westminster Hall,
Bancroft Way and Telegraph Avenue,
Berkeley, California, 10/31/66

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803 RDD/LL
ON AUG 7 1993
#291,790

There were approximately 50 persons present. Among
those present were the following:

Mr. and Mrs. MARIO SAVIO
BUDDY STEIN

[REDACTED]

JERRY RUBIN

[REDACTED]

BETTINA APTHEKER

[REDACTED]

PAUL GUZMANIC 45116

[REDACTED]

9-14-89
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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

SF 100-54060-352 (Pgs. 3-7)

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Rosenfeld II — 11/9/87 Request.

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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Savio Accepts Hearing

Maro Savio, in a letter from his attorney to Vice-Chancellor William B. Boyd, yesterday accepted the offer of a hearing on his refused re-admission to the University.

Boyd said he will meet informally with Savio's attorney, Malcolm Burnstein, to discuss appropriate procedures before arranging for the hearing.

Burnstein plans no further action until the University's meaning of "hearing" has been clarified.

Savio was refused readmission to the Winter quarter because he violated University rules at a rally last month by handing out leaflets as a non-student.

He later told The Daily Californian that he wanted a hearing on the rule, rather than on the fact of his actions. He also said he wanted the 1964 Dec. 8 Academic Senate resolutions as a basis for judging the rules.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Californian
U. of Calif.
Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 11-15-66

Edition: Daily

Author:

Editor: Pub. Assoc. Stu-
T. Students of the U. of
Calif.

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SP

☐ Being Investigated

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Section 552Section 552a

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| _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E) | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3) |
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Savio Declares Anti-War Feelings Helped GOP Win

By STEPHEN COOK

Nearly 300 serious Marin residents, seeking political overthrow of what they feel is a war-based American way of life, heard addresses by a Berkeley bartender, a Quaker official, and a defeated peace candidate last night.

The meeting at College of Marin's Olney Hall was called by the Marin County Conference for New Politics—a resurrection of the political organization which tried unsuccessfully to win the Democratic congressional nomination for Phil Drath, a peace candidate, in June.

Speakers were Mario Savio, Berkeley's free-speech firebrand now turned bartender; Benjamin Seaver, peace secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, and Drath.

ELECTION DISCUSSED

They claimed to find some sentiment for ending the Viet Nam war in Republican victories Nov. 3, but said the voting was irrational.

"The Republican victories shouldn't be misjudged. In some measure, they reflect great latent anti-war feeling," said Savio. "I can't imagine a less rational way of indicating opposition to the war than voting Republican."

"Largely, this stems from the large parties not standing for much in a clear-cut way. I favor, as rapidly as possible, supporting candidates with no attachment to the major parties. At first, we will succeed in giving victory to the Republicans,

but the voters will at least have a choice."

DARTH'S VIEWS

Darth said the Republican victory will make no difference in the Viet Nam war. "It doesn't make a lot of sense," he said, though I do agree that many people had the feeling that maybe the Republicans would do something about it.

"There is this feeling, confused, not guided, that something is wrong. People really can understand good sense, if it can be brought to them. What we want to do is set up an organization that will see to it that, next time we come to the polls, there is more than just a choice between a Reagan and a Brown."

Seaver warned of the peril inherent in America's military way of life.

"No matter how serious you think the situation is, you're underestimating it," he said.

'BE FANATICS'

"As a political group," he said, "you have to grasp the idea that business as usual will not get you where you are going. You have to be fanatics in the sense that you have to work as hard as the conservatives do to elect their candidates."

Seaver said the country's foreign policy is irrationally focused "on the idea that we are faced with a threat from an aggressive communism and that we must halt this threat, no matter what."

"As a result, we've built up the strongest military force ever. The one real expansive,

aggressive threat in the world today is ourselves. We've also become the biggest arms salesman the world has ever seen, and I remember when we called the private arms sellers merchants of death."

ECONOMIC CONFLICT

Savio said he sees the conflict largely as poor against rich. "In the center of affluence, there is no mechanism to help the poor. There is no majority of Americans who see it in their personal interest to devote themselves to change the economy from a military one."

"Lacking that lever, it may be impossible for us to choose to do what is rational. The change in our culture needed to permit large-scale public planning for civilian (rather than military) needs may have to be imposed on us from the outside ... not necessarily by conquest."

The three urged political action on a grass roots level. Savio said the Berkeley branch of the Conference for New Politics will run candidates for city council "who will try to show how the

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3 Independent-Journal

San Rafael, Calif.

Date: 11-30-66
Edition: Eve.
Author: Stephen Cook
Editor: Jack Craemer
Title:

Character:
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

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SERIAL	FILED
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

war effort affects life in the local community."

DOMESTIC ISSUES

Seaver said: "You have some beautiful issues, domestically. The war on poverty, never more than a skirmish, is going to dry up. Taxes, inevitably, are going up. Industries, like the building industry, are going to be badly hurt."

Darth recalled that he gained many votes in his campaign by speaking to small groups in "coffee clatches. We have to set up thousands of coffee clatches and train people to speak to them."

Kenneth Howard, co-chairman of the conference, said tentative plans by the organization include a Christmas vigil in San Rafael, a newsletter to be mailed out regularly in the county, and work on city council and school board elections as well as state and national elections.

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Savio to be Invited To Winter Retreat

Mario Savio, former Free Speech Movement leader, is being invited to the winter Student-Faculty Retreat.

Savio was invited, along with other non-students, because it was felt he could "contribute significantly to discussion" on the retreat topic, "Conformity: Vice or Virtue," according to Pat Brumbaugh, retreat chairman.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Californian

U. of Calif.

Berkeley, Calif.

Pg. 3

Date: 11/17/66
Edition: Daily

Author: Pub. Assoc. Students
Editor: of the U. of
Title: Calif.

Character:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

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Belli Will Defend Savio In UC Case

Melvin Belli stepped forward yesterday as the attorney representing Mario Savio and five other non-students arrested during demonstrations on the Berkeley campus of the University of California two weeks ago.

His six clients entered pleas of not guilty, to charges of trespassing and creating a public nuisance before Berkeley-Albany Municipal Judge George Brunn.

The defendants handed out a press release after their court appearance announcing that they had retained as their lawyer the flamboyant defender of Jack Ruby.

Belli said out of court that his clients were involved "in a clear-cut case of freedom of speech."

'IRREVALENT'

Belli described as irrelevant his personal attitude toward the cause of the sit-in demonstrations — the removal of an anti-war table set up on campus without administration approval.

"Whether I believe in the war in Vietnam is beyond the point," he told reporters. "Charges of trespassing seem to be the way the university tries to block off a person's right to speak."

"The university should be challenged by unpopular beliefs."

Judge Brunn set next Friday for a pre-trial conference and the announcement of the date of the jury trial.

OTHERS

Besides the 24-year-old Savio, firebrand of the demonstrations at Berkeley two years ago, those who appeared in court yesterday were Jerry Rubin, 28, Stewart Albert, 26, Michael J. Smith Jr., 25, William Miller, 25, and Steven Hamilton, 22.

Meanwhile, charges of assaulting a police officer against three students were reduced in court to misdemeanor counts of battery. December 20 was set for the pleas of Edward W. Rehanel Jr., 20, Richard E. Campbell, 20, and Richard Lowenstein, 22.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

S.F. Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

2

Date: 12/14/66

Edition: Final Word

Author:

Editor: Chas. deYoung

Title: Thieriot

Character:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

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SDS Shares Rally**Savio Blasts Heyns**By **KARLYN BARKER**
DC Staff Writer

Mario Savio, former leader of the Free Speech Movement, made his second appearance in two years on the Sproul Hall steps yesterday and told a noon crowd that Chancellor Roger W. Heyns was "a weather vane, and he points away from the source of the strongest hurricane."

Following the current trend of rally sharing, Savio spoke at a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) sponsored event, but used the microphone as a representative of the Council of Campus Organizations (CCO). He is a member of CCO's Executive Committee.

The "shared rally" trend originated because the CCO is not a registered campus organization, due to the fact that it has non-student "officers," and therefore cannot hold its own rallies, according to University policy.

Civil Liberties

Savio expressed concern for the decision of the Academic Senate's Academic Freedom Committee that moving the rallies to the Lower Student Union plaza did not involve questions in its jurisdiction.

"Most certainly civil liberty issues are involved," Savio said.

Pointing out that it was the Academic Freedom Committee which originally introduced the Dec. 8 Resolutions to the Academic Senate in 1964, Savio called



—photo by TOM KENDRICK

MARIO SAVIO

it "nonsense" for the committee to think "you can simply sidestep an issue and not take it up even though you did once before."

"For want of another appropriate committee," Savio said, "the matter will go undecided."

Referring to the Free Speech Movement, he said the trouble could have been avoided had the issues at hand "not been postponed until hideously too late,

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

The Daily Californian

U. of Calif.

Berkeley, Calif.

1

Date: 11/17/66

Edition: Daily

Author: Karlyn Barker

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~~XXXX~~ dents of the U.
of Calif.

Character:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

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DATE 9-19-89 BY SP1AC/AM

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OCT 19 1966
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

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1- [redacted]

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100-54060-361

until the administration and faculty had to be moved by the presence of 600 policemen."

Weather Vane

Backing up his "weather vane" charge, Savio commented that the 200 signatures on the complicity petition in the David Friedman letter case caused the administration to back down. He said that he saw no difference between the Friedman issue of regulated context of speech and the David McCullough controversy.

The Friedman letter case resulted from the publication of a letter by Friedman in *The Daily Californian* which criticized Donald R. Hopkins, assistant dean of students. Charges of violations of the student conduct policy were issued and then dropped by the Dean of Students Office.

The McCullough controversy refers to charges currently being considered against David McCullough, secretary of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 1570, in regard to remarks he allegedly made at a rally Oct. 21 following the appearance of some 800 boycotting Oakland students on campus.

Maniacs and Microphones

"The Chancellor wants to move these rallies," said Savio, "because he has to spend too much time dealing with fallout from what's said on these steps. He has to worry about the reaction to those maniacs who use the mi-

crophone' by the legislature when the budget comes up for a vote."

Savio noted that the Chancellor's attitude should be to show a willingness to defend the University "to maintain its political integrity, even if it means less money for a new Student Union at the north campus."

"We have to prepare ourselves very well," Savio warned. "We may have to call upon one another to oppose the policy on the steps by refusing to observe it. CCO has not decided to do this, but it might have to."

Career Damage

"I just want to ask that each person consider the damage to his academic and personal career should he take part in such opposition," Savio cautioned.

Also at the rally, Ira Ruskin of the Vietnam Day Committee accused Heyns of "abruptly becoming the judiciary branch of California" by raising questions of slander and misrepresentation in rally content.

"Please beware," added Ruskin, "of such tactics, because someday you may find that your conscience compels you to make statements against the status quo from these steps."

Arbitrary Power

Pat Iiyama, of the CCO and the Graduate Co-ordinating Council, said the "Chancellor has an

arbitrary and unilateral power regarding campus rules. We need the ability to challenge the Chancellor on these rules."

"As a student you cannot do this," Miss Iiyama added. "If you break a rule then there is a hearing on whether or not you broke the rule, but never on the validity of the rule itself. The University administration wants to turn out safe people with safe ideas to fit in a safe society."

"We're opponents of the power structure," commented Joe Geier, CCO and Independent Socialists representative, "and we're under attack because we've been effective opponents. [University President Clark] Kerr and Heyns fell all over themselves trying to adjust to the right wing shift in state politics."

Saying that Kerr and other administrative officials won't defend the University, Geier said, "The students and the faculty have to defend the University from every attack, from outside and from inside."

Savio Proposes Violation of New Rally Rule

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

By MARY ELLEN PERRY
Mario Savio yesterday asked students to violate any new rules cutting back the length of noon rallies on Sproul Hall steps as part of a larger campaign to secure "due process of law" in University of California student conduct hearings.

Savio, speaking from the steps for the Council of Campus Organizations (CCO), referred to a ruling by Berkeley Chancellor Roger W. Heyns that as of next Tuesday, amplified rallies on the steps must begin at 12:10 p.m. and end at 12:50 p.m.

"This will reduce the present permissible time from one hour to 40 minutes."

CCO distributed "Declaration of Intent" for students to sign as a pledge to:

Speak at a rally in violation of the policy; take responsibility for co-sponsoring that rally; and attend no university administration hearing unless "minimum conditions to insure due process" prevail.

'Due Process'

The conditions called for were that hearings be held by "an independent body, not advisory to the Chancellor," be open; include the right of counsel;

place "the burden of proof on the administration;" advocate "punishments commensurate with the offenses to prevent grossly unequal punishments for the same offense;" include the "right" of students to call for testimony from university officials and employees; and accept sections of the Dec. 8, 1964, UC faculty resolutions or the U.S. Constitution as "legitimate grounds of defense."

'Could Avoid New FSM'

Savio, former free speech movement leader, said putting the Sproul Steps controversy "in this context" might avoid another Free Speech Movement "which none of us has the physical or spiritual energy for, except perhaps once more."

He said the new campaign came out of his "pre-hearing" meeting with UC administrators to discuss his appeal against a ruling barring him from re-admittance to the university.

The former UC student said he and his lawyer Malcolm Burnstein, argued with Executive Vice Chancellor Earl F. Chiet, Vice Chancellor William Boyd and Regents' attorney Milton Gordon over the form the hearing should take.

He said the administrators

"want only to ascertain the facts of whether or not I passed out leaflets," two weeks ago in violation of a campus rule prohibiting non-students from disturbing literature.

He wants his violation, which led to denial of his petition for reinstatement as a student, to be judged as they relate to the "Constitution or the Dec. 8 resolutions."

Sproul Plan Surprises

Savio also said students and faculty "have not been consulted" on a move to convert Sproul Hall into classrooms.

In Los Angeles yesterday the UC Regents' monthly meeting, Heyns and UC President Clark Kerr asked the Regents for money to begin the first step of a conversion of the building, which now houses administrative offices.

Remodeling of Sproul Hall would begin with construction of faculty offices, teaching laboratories and departmental space and would end eventually, according to Heyns, with instruction in languages, liberal arts and associated fields.

Heyns was quoted as saying the "emergency action" on Sproul Hall is necessary as the university prepares for year-round operation, and because there is lack of space in other liberal arts buildings.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Berkeley Daily Gazette

Berkeley, Calif.

1

Date: 11/19/66

Edition: Morning

Author: Mary Ellen Perry

Editor: Gerald A. Beatty

Title:

Pub: Warren Brown, Jr.

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

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DATE 9-19-89 BY SP14660m

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
DEC 19 1966
FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

100-54060-362

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

1500 at Protest**Stormy UC Sit-In****--Arrest of Leaders****Fracas at
Student
Union**

By Don Vegars

Alameda county sheriff's deputies moved in force into Berkeley's University of California campus yesterday at the peak of a day-long student demonstration and arrested nine persons. Only three of them were students.

The appearance of the armed officers touched off a wild, but only slightly bloody, melee that was several hours subsiding.

As many as 1500 students continued to mill noisily about the Student Union Building, the scene of the arrests, until late last night. But the temper of the crowd had calmed and officials expected no more immediate trouble.

Among those arrested were Mario Savio, the firebrand of the Free Speech revolt of two years ago, and Jerry Rubin, the former Vietnam War Councilor.

Rubin and Savio were arrested on warrants issued by the federal court.

sued by the Berkeley-Alameda Municipal Court on complaints signed by executive vice chancellor Earl F. Cheit.

Cheit later issued a statement saying that he had acted because "a group of students and non-students seriously disrupted" the operation of the Student Union.

They were charged, variously and separately, with trespassing, creating a public nuisance and violation of the Mulford Act, which prohibits non-students from participating in campus politics.

"We arrested the ringleaders, those who seemed to be planning the affair," said one campus policeman.

The other persons arrested, all students, were accused of resisting arrest and interfering with a police officer, and were eventually taken to the Berkeley City Jail where they were held under \$3500 bail each.

The evening's violence took root shortly after noon when an apparently spontaneous demonstration erupted on the main floor of the Student Union Building in protest over a Navy recruiting table manned there by a lieutenant and a lieutenant commander.

SCUFFLE

The demonstrators were protesting not only the military recruiting, but the fact that a student and a non-student manning a Draft In-

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 S.F. Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 12-1-66
Edition: Final Home
Author: Don Vegars
Editor: Chas. deYoung
Title: Thieriot

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

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100-54060-363

formation Committee table had been ousted earlier.

The crowd of objectors grew steadily throughout the afternoon, without disturbing the outward equanimity of the two Naval officers.

By mid-afternoon, more than 200 students were surging through the building.

Vice Chancellor William Boyd, newly arrived from Michigan State University, appeared on the scene and pleaded with students to disperse before he was obliged to declare it an unlawful assembly.

His plea was in vain.

The suddenly, the familiar figure of Savio, recently denied readmission to the campus, emerged from the noisy crush of students to take charge.

He exhorted the sit-ins to argue with Boyd and demanded that the university permit an anti-war table alongside that of the recruiters, and that officials promise not to discipline the demonstrators.

TABLE

Boyd agreed to the anti-war table, provided it were operated by students, but refused to make any other concessions. He told the crowd he would give them ten minutes to disperse.

The two Navy recruiters, meanwhile, continued to hand out their literature, frequently to scoffing, jerring recipients.

"We came to spend the afternoon," said Lieutenant Commander Robert May, "and that's what we are going to do."

ON HAND

Also in evidence during the exchanges was Bettina Anthecker, a self-declared communist, the daughter of Marxist historian Herbert

Anthecker, and a former member of the campus rules committee.

Her remarks were lost in the general tumult.

Dean of Students Arleigh Williams also put in an appearance and, like Boyd, pleaded futilely for the students to disperse.

"I don't want to see you arrested with all the tragedy this entails," he said.

DOORS

At 3 p.m., campus officers locked the doors to the seething building and everybody except the sit-in participants departed.

In Sprout Hall, meanwhile, the scene of the notorious free speech sit-in rebellion and 773 arrests of exactly two years ago, law enforcement officials held a conference with university administrators.

Present were Berkeley Police Chief William Beall, UC Police Chief Frank Woodward, Larry Waldr, chief of the sheriff's criminal division, and representatives of the district attorney's office.

WARRANTS

Warrants, meanwhile, were being prepared against six persons officials believed had triggered the trouble.

The six — all Berkeley residents — were identified as Stewart Albert, 27, of 1930-A Lake street; Savio, 24, of 2116 McKee Avenue; Michael Smith, 25, of 2512 Regent street; William (Big Bill) Miller, 25, of 2332 San Pablo avenue, leader of a group called the Provos; Steven C. Hamilton, 22, of 2736 Dwight way, an officer of the Students Progressive Labor party; and Jerry C. Rubin, 28, of 2632 Regent street.

The warrants arrived at the Student Union Building at 5:45 p.m. in the hands of the 23 club-carrying deputies and Campus Police Sergeant

James Schichender, dubbed "Dean Fuzz" by many students.

CATCALLS

The officers marched into the building and Schichender served the first warrant on Smith. There was a roar of hooting and catcalls and the students surged forward to collide with the deputies who responded with their nightsticks.

One officer was knocked down, one was bitten on the hand, another slugged. Several students, male and female, were floored.

There were shouts of "Fascist cops" and a halting disorganized chorus of two or "We shall overcome."

But the deputies nabbed five of the six persons they were after and hustled them into the basement garage.

BUS

A UC bus would have taken them away, had not a throng of demonstrators blocked the driveway. In the mob was Savio and he was arrested.

Deputies led their prisoners through an underground passageway to the nearby building, out a rear exit and into another bus parked on Brancroft avenue.

The bus was again blocked by perhaps 100 students, but officers forced them from the street and the bus roared off to the Santa Rita prison farm where the six prisoners were booked and their bail set at \$110 each.

Deputies and police had arrested three UC students who they said assaulted them and they were hustled off to the Berkeley police station on charges of resisting arrest and interfering with an officer. They were identified as Richard Lwenstein, 22; Edward W. Rihanek, 20; Richard E. Campbell, 20.

The mob continued to mill about the Student Union before it broke up into separate meetings, the noisiest of

which flowed in and out of the Student Union until almost midnight.

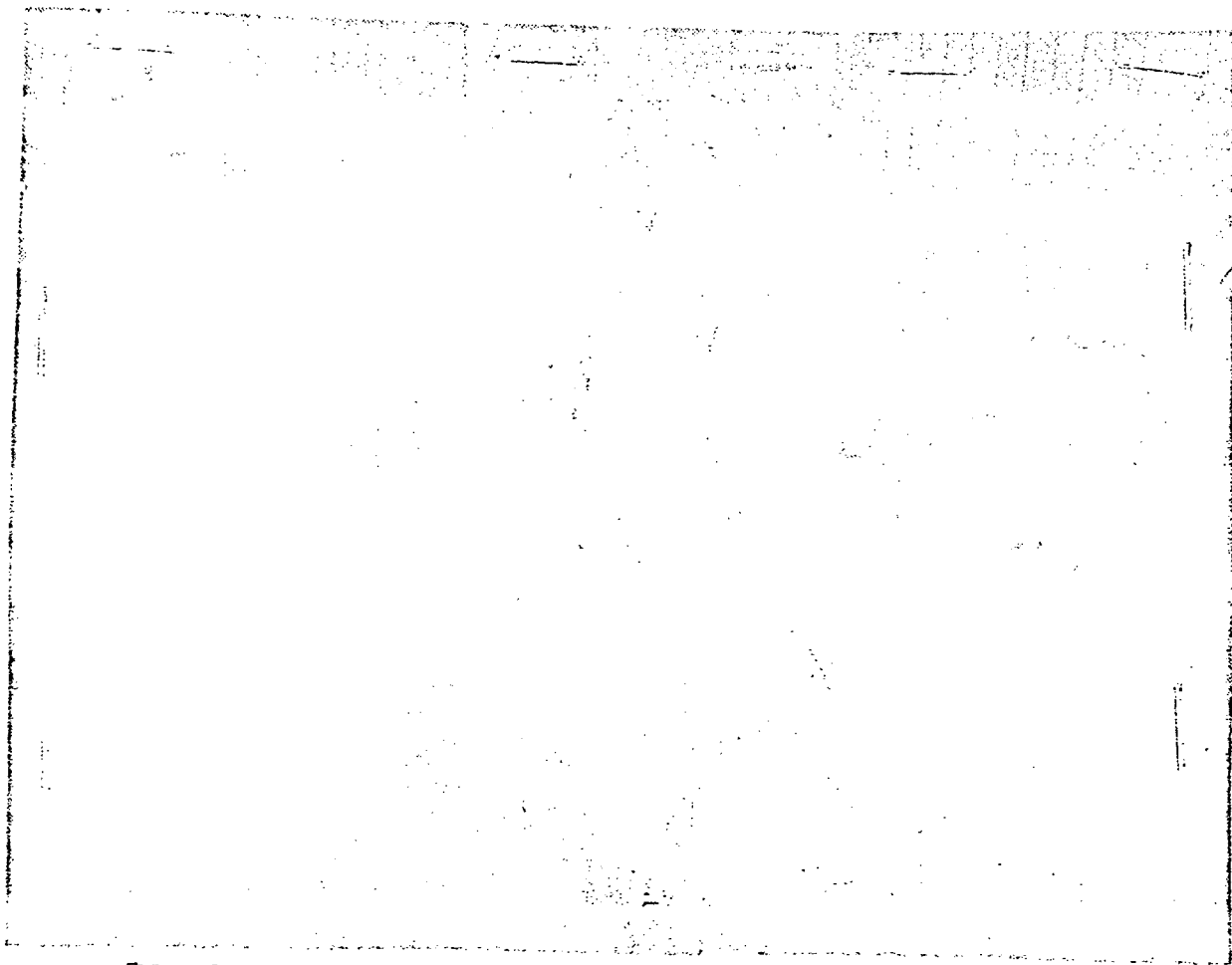
FRACAS

For an hour after the fracas, the floors of the building were littered with shoes, torn clothing and shredded books.

Some 200 graduate students assembled at Stiles Hall, the off-campus YMCA, and voted to stage a student strike from 8 a.m. to noon today. Similar and alternate proposals were being considered at other meetings.

In Sacramento, Governor Edmund G. Brown kept informed of the disturbance but said he would have no comment unless State help was requested.

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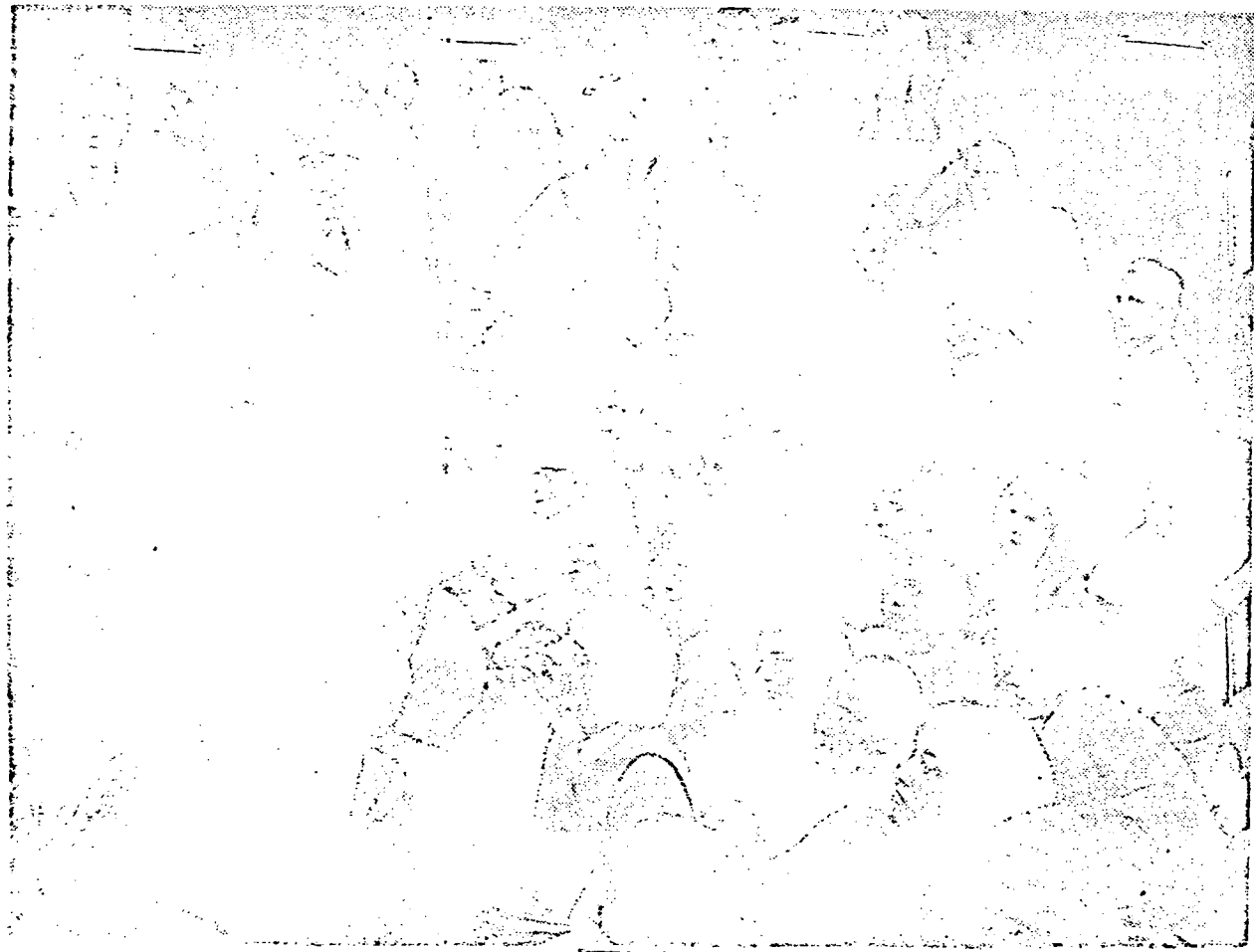


A policeman began ousting students bodily at the UC sit-in

By Peter Breunig

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Mario Savio took charge at the stormy campus rally

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Close Look at UC Targets

The Non-Student Leaders

By LYNN LUDLOW
Examiner Staff Writer

Ten non-students are the chief targets of University of California administrators who say they are now reacting to "13 months of black-mutiny" on the Berkeley campus.

They are the most visible figures in a larger group of activists who make their headquarters on the campus.

Only two of them, Mario Savio and Karen Lieberman, are formal leaders in the current strike. Both are applying for readmission, but neither has much of a chance.

Six, including Savio, were arrested Wednesday in the incident that triggered mass protests by students. The others are Jerry Rubin, Stewart Albert, Michael J. Smith Jr., Steven C. Hamilton and William C. Miller.

The top 10 would also include Peter Camejo, Hal Draper and Jack Weinberg.

Although all 10 describe themselves as "radicals" and most are Marxists of one sort or another, only Hamilton describes himself as a "revolutionary Communist."

Other ex-students and non-students have vanished from the Berkeley scene.

CHILD KILLER

They include Steve Weissman of the Free Speech Movement, who was arrested last summer while testifying at the hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Francis Medaille, alias Mike O'Hanlon, who was extradited by New York authorities last year for breaking parole as a convicted child killer.

Remarks by Chancellor Roger W. Heyns and strike leaders last week indicate that the question of non-student use of campus facilities is one of the principal disagreements.

Here are some facts about the top 10.

Savio, 23, was the chief spokesman for the 1964 FSM. He later abdicated, married another FSM leader and spent several months in England and New York. His conviction in the sit-in is still on appeal.

REQUEST DENIED

Last April the Savios returned to Berkeley. He remained in seclusion until last month, when he violated a campus rule that forbids non-students from passing out leaflets on the campus. His readmission for the winter quarter was denied.

He is a member of the executive committee of the Council of Campus Organizations, which was formed to fight a proposal to move microphones from the Sproul Hall steps.

Hamilton, 22, is campus organizer for the Progressive Labor Party, a Communist group with links to the Marxist faction. He was dragged from the witness stand last summer while testifying at the hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

STREET RIOT

Hamilton was once a student at the fundamental Christian institution, Wheaton College, near Chicago, Ill. He entered the FSM as representative of the campus religious groups. Within a year, he was in PLP. He was among those arrested at the street riot April 12 on Telegraph Ave.

He was dismissed from UC along with Smith for repeated violations of a rule against placing the table of a non-registered group on the plaza during March.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

S.F. Sunday Examiner and Chronicle

Pg. 26 S.F. Examiner
Section I

San Francisco, Calif.

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DATE 9-14-89 BY SP1A/C/G/m

Date: 12-4-66
Edition: Sunday
Author: Lynn Ludlow
Editor: Edmund J. Dooley
Title:

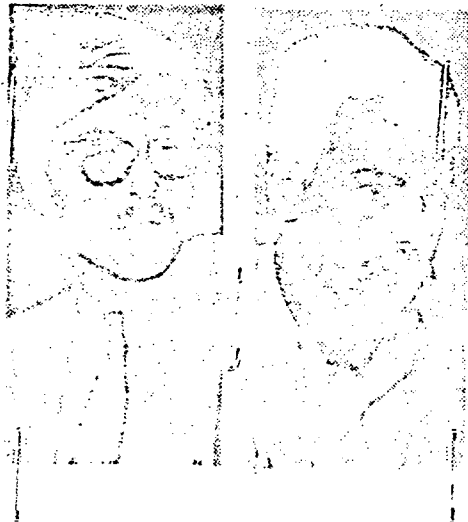
Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SF
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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

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HAMILTON

RUBIN

Smith, 25, a former fraternity man, is from Corte Madera. After his dismissal last spring, he lost his seat in the Associated Students Senate and joined PLP. In recent months he has been active in Students for a Democratic Society, a New Left group. He was also arrested during the April 12 street demonstration.

TROOP TRAIN

Jerry Rubin, 23, is a one-time newspaper reporter from Cincinnati who came to UC briefly as a graduate student in sociology. He was a Cuba traveler. In 1965 he helped organize the Vietnam Day Committee and was the principal manager of the VDC during the troop train incident and the two marches to Oakland.

As the VDC began to fade, Rubin joined the Robert Scheer for Congress campaign and later helped organize the Black Power confer-

ence on the campus. He was also called to testify at the HCUA hearings, but he never appeared on the witness stand in his Revolutionary War costume.

William C. Miller, 25, a huge bearded man of 280 pounds, 6-6 in height, was at one time last spring the man to see in the VDC. He is doorkeeper in a San Pablo Avenue tavern.

Miller once said he was a nephew of Bing Crosby. In Indiana, he was a member of a group of young conservatives. In Berkeley he has been active in a number of left wing causes. At present he is one of the Provos who serve free food daily in Berkeley City Center Plaza. He did not attend UC.

Mrs. Lieberman, 23, is from New York. She was an undergraduate at Cornell University, and until last spring, when she was suspended, she was a graduate student in sociology at UC.

RADICAL GROUPS

She has been active since then in the WDC, SDS and other campus radical groups. She is also a member of the Council of Campus Organizations.

Jack Weinberg, 26, returned only two weeks ago from Buffalo, N.Y. During the FSM he became the "man in the police car" and one of the chief strategists although even then, as a former math student, he came to symbolize the non-student problem.

Weinberg was subsequently active in leadership in the VDC.

Peter Camejo, 25, currently the chief spokesman for

the VDC, was employed until several weeks ago as a programmer in the Survey Research Center. He was never a UC student.

Camejo is a former national secretary of a Trotskyist group, the Young Socialist Alliance, and he came to Berkeley in 1965 as a YSA organizer. One office at 2601 Mylvia St. in Berkeley serves as headquarters for the VDC, United Committee Against the War, Tricontinental Student Association and YSA.

Draper, a university library clerk, is a frequent contributor to journals of left wing opinion. He is an invitable speaker at campus demonstrations. He is the adviser to a Marxist splinter group, the Independent Socialist Club.

Draper has been associated with campus politics since the days of the American Student Union in the 1920's.

Albert, 26, a former VDC leader, came to UC last year after quitting his job as a New York City social worker. He founded, with Jeff Lustig, the Free University of Berkeley.

Albert, a onetime professional wrestler, did not attend UC. He dropped out of PLP last summer and joined SDS. He was arrested in the April street demonstration.

LIEBERMAN

SAVIO

FBI

Transmit the following in _____

Date: December 15, 1966

Via AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: SAC, San Francisco (100-54060)

From: Director, FBI (100-443052)

MARIO ROBERT SAVIO
SM - CClassified by SP4 GGM

Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 9-19-87 BY SP4 GGM

ReSFairted with enclosed letterhead memorandum dated 12/9/66 captioned "Student Demonstrations, University of California, Berkeley, California, Fall Quarter of 1966, Information Concerning."

Information in referenced letterhead memorandum and other communications including news media indicate that subject is again becoming extremely active in student demonstrations at the University of California, Berkeley, California, even though he is not now a student. Referenced letterhead memorandum concerns a student strike against the University which was temporarily halted on 12/6/66 in view of pending examinations and to allow negotiations between the students and the administration. Savio along with self-admitted Communist Party member Bettina Aptheker and other individuals affiliated with subversive organizations were actively engaged in the leadership of this strike and have given every indication of carrying out the threat to reinstitute the strike in January, 1967. Page three of referenced letterhead memorandum characterized subject as having been [REDACTED]

In view of the anticipated prominence of Savio in demonstrations at the University and the resulting publicity that can be expected from his actions, coupled with his association with Aptheker and others with subversive backgrounds

Sent Via _____

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100-54060-365
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
DEC 19 1966

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803 RDD/ldh
ON AUG 11 1993
291,790

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Airtel to SAC, San Francisco
RE: MARIO ROBERT SAVED
100-443052

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

and

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] you should immediately reopen this matter and submit an up-to-date report along with your recommendation concerning his security or reserve index status. This matter should be handled promptly.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

A Faculty Reply to M. Savio on Educational Reform

By PETER D. SCOTT

As a member of the Berkeley faculty's Select Committee on Education, I find myself in no way saddened by Mario Savio's portrayal of our report [Education at Berkeley. Report of The Select Committee on Education, Academic Senate, University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, 1966] as a "feeble response" to the Berkeley students' dissatisfaction.

Man's predicament and with it youth's, is of such dimensions that education itself is unlikely to resolve it, much less any institutional tinkering with our education. Even if we do not see this world as a vale of tears, it is surely no place for an educated person to accept as is. A good education is much more likely to have an "alienation effect" than a "satisfaction effect"; and the same should be no less true of educational reform. Indeed, our Committee's institutional suggestions were largely designed to stimulate the search for new modes of teaching and learning, rather than come up with the answers.

We were by no means tentative about the existence of major problems, especially in the lower division of the campus; but we did doubt that these problems could be solved merely by legislating. Instead we hoped by various devices to help faculty to improve ways of teaching, and students ways of learning, in the same spirit of experimental inquiry with which they now approach research.

The difference between ourselves and Mario is that he, apparently, already knows the answers. His veneer of cynicism I discount; and I shall explain why I am heartened by his undercurrent of traditional enlightenment optimism: that education (including our present education) can serve to liberate men and diminish coercion. All that is shocking in his critique, and it is a little bit shocking, is his own complacency.

A Deep Ambivalence

It is all very well for Mario to make noises about a "real emergency." In fact he sees problems concerning finance, Regents, big business, government, etc., but he is remarkably happy with the achievements and trends of our higher education itself. He asserts that there have already been a "multitude" of experiments involving "radical innovation"; and he is satisfied that

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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DATE 9-19-89 BY SP/ACC/um

7 The Daily Californian
Weekly Magazine
U. of Calif. Section
Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 11-29-66
Edition: DAILY Weekly
Author: Peter D. Scott
Pub.: Assoc. Students of the U. of Calif.

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

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(Mario Savio's article, which appeared in the October issue of Harper's, bore the title, "The Uncertain Future of the Multiversity: a Partisan Scrutiny of Berkeley's Muscatine Report." Savio argued that the Muscatine Report was inadequate because:

1) It did not attempt to grapple with the on-going conflict between instruction and research, and with the "departmental, industrial, and governmental vested interests which aggravate this conflict."

2) It did not analyze in detail the California "Master Plan" for long-range educational development, which would reduce still further the inadequate emphasis on undergraduate education.

3) It admits of the necessity for improving the professor-student ratio—without which the widespread introduction of tutorials and smaller classes is impossible—but fails to advocate anything that would bring such improvement about, implying that this would be prohibited by "budgetary constraints"; nor does it recognize that the programs of the Board of Educational Development are far too limited to affect any but a handful of students.

4) In dismissing the student as alienated and anti-rational, it never considers the possibility that his condemnation of the University as a factory might contain some validity. Savio concludes: "No one can speak for students but students. And we will secure the right to a decent education only when we have organized ourselves independently of both faculty and administration, in much the same way that workers have organized themselves into trade unions.")

they have 'shown' how tutorials and small seminars (two of the oldest tricks in the business) can eliminate the 'coercive aspects' of mass higher education. All that is needed, therefore (and "the only adequate remedy"), is to expand these limited programs by increasing the faculty-student ratio.

All of the deep ambivalence of his article is displayed in this commandment to the old to tell him something. Why should a radical want swinging Berkeley to pick up the acculturating tactics of the Ivy League, of a Wesleyan or Amherst? Why should a generational hero, who once trusted no one over thirty, now look for liberation to an even larger regiment of us same old faculty finks?

One can object in practical terms that there is an even greater shortage of good faculty than of funds to hire them, so that one could only give Berkeley this rich endowment by raiding the rest of the nation and the world. This would defeat one of Mario's finest principles, his concern for the whole fabric of higher education, as opposed to a safety valve for an elite. But I am more concerned about the mousiness of this mountain's labors: the younger generation will not save the older by simply offering it itself.

A Wider Sphere of Concern

The State legislature shares his concern about undergraduate education, and the Chancellor's Office is already acting on our proposal that undergraduates should have the option of close faculty contact at any and all levels of instruction. Tutorials and seminars were one of our major concerns, but not our only one: we had also to worry (for example) about the content of curriculum, its obsolescence, the drift towards specialized fragmentation, pseudo-scientific abstraction, and irrelevance (especially in the social sciences and humanities), and the need to seek education outside the university itself.

There are few at Berkeley who now dare to speak against tutorials, which are being widely (and successfully) instituted. But a unique stress on togetherness rather than curriculum could be more likely to produce in the student a co-ordination or *Gleichschaltung* with our present culture (including all of its imperfections) than a breakthrough to "the best that has been thought and said."

Mario, however, has nothing to say about content; he does not even say much about goals, other than the old liberal goal of "free and independent inquiry."

A More Radical Understanding

One can find far more radical implications in a recent article by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare attacking the bureaucratization of mind which can be most perfectly achieved at our best and most amply-staffed universities. According to Mr. Gardner, most people "are simply tending the machinery of that part of society to which they belong . . . they are not pursuing a vision of what the total society needs." The general discouragement of such an attitude is, he said, "of little consequence compared with the expert discussion the young person will encounter if he is sufficiently bright to attend a college or university." [John W. Gardner, "The Antileadership Vaccine," in Carnegie Corporation of New York *Annual Report*, 1965, pp. 7-9.]

If a Cabinet member can worry that the coherence and vision of our society is being lost in its educational machinery, why can we not hear as much from the student who once challenged the gears, the wheels, and the levers? (Even the Free University of Berkeley, though a valuable gadfly, seems rather like a mirror image of the other one, with its own list of detailed, fragmented "courses.")

The answer, I think, is that educational radicalism is not a one-man job, but a slow business: as radical and as slow, in fact, as the age-old conspiracy whose aim is to get man educated. This admitted, Mario should be more patient with us.

For one thing, the students are by no means as articulately discontented as he makes out. When he claims that "we wanted an end to the system of lecture courses, grades, and course units . . .", he is not even speaking for all of his fellow activists. The Committee's hope was that, as better education was offered, more students would demand it; but (except with respect to grading, where we responded) there was no single urgent or specific student demand submitted to us which appeared to be widespread. The files of the Committee, which are open to all, will corroborate this.

And the results of educational experiments have, of course, failed to convince most observers that we are already on the threshold of mass non-coercive higher education. The only evidence he cites explicitly is that of the Tussman Program, yet Prof. Tussman has reported extensively to the Berkeley Senate concerning the troublesome problems of discipline (and self-discipline) which arise as coercive sanctions like letter grading are done away with.

One cannot move immediately to non-coercive mass education in a coercive mass society: not, at least, as long as students still wish their degrees to confer a special status within that society. (This "degree-mindedness" is of course one enormous problem the Free University does not have to contend with.) And it is possible that some of the Tussman Program's problems arose because too many students were forced upon it too soon (by the combined pressures of both administrators and activists).

Premature Theoretic Complacency

Thus I see no grounds for the complacency which claims that the educational problems are now behind us, and that we are left only with financial or political problems. To say this is not to disparage experiments such as the Tussman program. On the contrary, we urgently need many more such experiments, including large-scale experiments, preferably with suitable controls. We need to recognize this as a timely yet continuing priority, given the past failure of universities to evolve machinery for any innovations that were not permanent and absolute.

It was for these reasons that the Select Committee proposed the establishment of a Board of Educational Development, composed of a senior administrator and six faculty members with staggered terms. I hope that Mario and the Berkeley students will reread carefully this section of the Report, and the terms of the Board as established last spring. Among its duties are those to receive, encourage and authorize experimental instructional proposals (including courses, partial or total curricula, teaching practices, or alterations of existing requirements) for which departmental or college support does not seem appropriate or feasible, for a period of up to five years.

This proposal seems to me to go way beyond previous proposals for either faculty committees or administrative offices for curriculum development, in that the features of communal discussion, administrative implementation, and professional review can all be combined in one experimental procedure. It has even been attacked as a "University within a University," but this is unfair, inasmuch as the Board's purposes and duties are to disseminate, rather than segregate, a spirit of meaningful innovation. The Board does, however, bring together the amateur involvement of student and faculty proponents with the professional competence of administrators, and thus combats the kind of functional isolation which becomes a major disease of a mass university and a mass society alike. (Indeed, if the Board were to be successful in years to come, one might wish that analogous Boards of Community Development be tested

to deal with communal problems outside the university, not only in ghettos but in bedroom suburbs and in all aspects of American society.)

The Test

I think there is only one way for students to demonstrate that this Board is a "feeble response" to Berkeley's problems, and that is to submit to it a valid and urgent experimental proposal and have this rejected. For the Board's sake and for the campus's, I hope that serious students will make this test.

Contrary to what Mario implies, the Board's powers were not "weakened" by the Berkeley Senate. Still less is it true that the Board is "designed for small experiments only." The inherent limitations on the Board's experiments are in time, not in number. There are procedures which restrict the size of experiments involving special degrees; but these are to be invoked only when there is an irresolvable disagreement among faculty as to their merits. The spirit of non-coercive education requires that faculty as well as students must have a role in determining their intellectual pursuits. It would be folly to grant the Board wholesale powers to impose mass programs on a faculty which is not eager to teach them, any more than on students who are not eager to take them.

The real problem is that greater numbers, both of faculty and of students, must be persuaded to seek a higher quality of teaching and of learning—at least in the humanities and the social sciences. There is no future whatever in coercive non-coercion, or in involuntary togetherness. Since 1964 the interest of students in their education has become much more articulate; organized students discussions have been difficult, and sometimes tedious, but not sterile.

One concrete student proposal, already being acted on, is to establish a field-study program for credit whereby students would both live in and work in the heart of the East Oakland ghetto. Another is for the tutorial of students by students, an idea much closer to the goal of a non-coercive active learning at Berkeley than a simple proliferation of our present faculty. These ideas can be, and are being, taken up by the B.E.D. In the absence of any articulate "students' critique of their university," I do not see how the Select Committee could go further than create a machinery (the Board) to act on student demands if and as they come.

"Dark Forces" from Outside

Thus there is at present no objective confrontation between the articulated interests of students on the one hand, and those of faculty, or even administration, on the other. The situation is not dialectical in any Hegelian or tragic sense. Mario seems to recognize this when he relegates the sources of dehumanization to dark forces on the larger social scene: namely, "the economic interests of the millionaires who sit on the University Board of Regents." He claims that

The government officials and businessmen who rule the University until now have been able to rely on the divisions within the faculty, and between parts of the faculty and the student body—especially the undergraduates.

I take it that he regrets the existence of such divisions.

as are found within the University, and does not seek to magnify them. But how dark are these outside forces?

First, it is true that (at least in the past) the concerns expressed by UC Regents have often been far from exclusively educational: though this may be more attributable to exotic aspects of the California "power structure" than to any profound or considered awareness of its narrow class-interests.

Second, it is even more true that many vital decisions concerning priorities and budget allocations (in which neither faculty nor students have hitherto shown very much interest) are continuously decided at high levels (the level of what Franz Schurmann has called the "para-university") by Regents, administrators, and government officials, remote from the actual process of learning and teaching. Even this situation, however, may be less the result of a dialectical power-struggle than of the functional isolation which afflicts, and perhaps threatens to overwhelm, a pluralist society.

Third, there remains a residue of political problems, whose importance I do not seek to minimize, where the articulate interests of the private and public power-structure run directly counter to those of students. We have seen this happen when students fight for civil rights, no longer just in Mississippi, but in Oakland. We have seen it happen over Selective Service, and the war in Vietnam. Recent revelations concerning the involvements between Universities and the CIA, which may have told us much less than the whole story, have served further to weaken the students' sense of identification with their university.

The Need for Dialectic in Society

Thus it may not be wholly unreasonable to establish a dialectical or "class" model of conflict and confrontation between the university and its overseers in respect to narrowly political issues. I raise this possibility, in order to minimize its relevance to the present discussion. However deep our misgivings may be about the militarization of American society and its economy, it is not possible to claim that this society has come to feel threatened (as did Tsarist Russia, Nazi Germany, or certain U.S. southern states) by humans or non-coercive education as such. Indeed, the same Washington bureaucracy which Mario fears on political grounds will probably prove to be our most valuable ally in the educational objective of a more liberal undergraduate curriculum and better teaching.

For this reason I would challenge the spirit of separatism and withdrawal in some of Paul Goodman's most recent educational writings, or most recently by Phil Roos in the *Daily California Weekly Magazine*. ["A Paean to the Coming Decline and Fall of Berkeley as a Great University," *The Weekly Magazine*, Tuesday, October 11, 1966, page 8.]

Phil Roos, another FSM supporter, is so certain about the evils of federal involvement that he would welcome a decline in Berkeley's pre-eminence, so that this involvement might diminish and the quality of teaching improve. But to make Berkeley once again a regional institution would be to expose us even more to those extremist elements who least understand the role and

values of a humane university. In America as in England, we must expect governmental subsidy to play a key role, first in the democratization of higher education, and then in the embellishment of that education with a better and more humane quality.

In stressing the differences between political and educational issues, and in denying that the latter are dialectical, I by no means wish to suggest that education itself is apolitical. On the contrary, better education (however long it may take to achieve) is the only way to create the informed electorate which will insist on more humanized government policies and procedures, and establish popular controls to check the spreading disease of organizational sub-rationality.

But I do appeal to leftists like Mario and Phil Roos to face the educational problem of the university with a co-operative attitude rather than a dialectical one. Certainly the educational objective they have outlined (of better teaching, especially on the undergraduates level) does not justify a dialectical stance. Despite Clark Kerr's bleak predictions for the multiversity, it is already clear that Washington, the undergraduates, and the Chancellor's Office all have an active (because selfish) interest in this same objective.

We have seen a facile "activism"—only a hair's breadth from defeatism, and often leading directly to it—which sees no outcome but irreducible and massive conflict. It could prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy: it could lessen society's interest in mass quality higher education, and government's willingness to subsidize it. This might be in the short run, as Phil Roos candidly states, "a boon to leftists"; but only in the very limited sense of swelling the SDS membership. It certainly would postpone the leftist goal of a less coercive society, which is not likely to be built out of the shards of a Birchite or fascist nightmare.

Lenin discovered, in his brief years after the revolution, that the problem of "culture"—of education—still lay between him and the classless society. Insofar as our leftists retain that valuable lesson, they will want, like Mario, to view educational establishment more favorably than our political establishment, and hopefully to share in the work of improving the educational community on the Berkeley campus.

Two radical goals remain both traditional and respectable in our culture: to educate the whole of society, and thus to change it. In the right circles, these goals are even *de rigueur*: the example of Mr. Gardner's article should remind us that the establishment, as well as student activists, is committed to the search for profound improvements, and above all more vision, in our higher education. Willy nilly, that Washington bureaucracy which gets into everything from atoms to poverty (to the understandable horror of Barry Goldwater and Phil Roos) is getting into the educational reform business as well.

I cannot myself be sad, for educational improvement will indeed cost money. And although our fabric of multiversity government is not one to win my praise, I can hardly believe in a friend-foe situation where Regental millionaires are depicted as a prime cause of our educational shortcomings. This attitude seems to me

more likely to postpone innovation than to hasten it.

Others of the New Left have shown an even greater readiness to translate the intellectual or noetic problems of educational radicalism into the familiar power-models of political radicalism—presumably since they are so much more skilled and authoritative in matters of organization and the various colors of power. Some of them, committed to fighting power with power, even show signs of fearing, rather than desiring, the consequences of improved education.

Savio's Favorable Example

But in the same context there are five qualities of Mario's critique which all educators should admire. The first, as I have said, is his needed optimism: he

still believes, in the best Enlightenment tradition, that we can have a less coercive education for a less coercive society. This is to remember what education is supposed to be about: the words "the truth shall make you free" are a promise to society as well as the individual.

The second is his desire to learn from faculty, as well as teach us. The third is his stated concern for the whole structure of mass higher education, rather than with small communities of the Goodmanite elect. The fourth is his awareness of, and insistence on, standards. The fifth is his emphasis that students should organize to represent their interests "in much the same way that workers have organized themselves into trade unions." I interpret this in the limited sense that, especially in a mass institution, no one can speak so well and so strongly for the grievances and objectives of students as the students.

This hard-headed approach will shock those teachers with a nostalgia for the Ivy League College that we are not. But it is hardly radical or dangerous; Clark Kerr himself implied as much in that bible of the FSM, *The Uses of the University* (pp. 103-04). Whatever we may think of pluralism, Clark Kerr's model of tension and resolution between competing interests is much better here than the dialectical model in which one interest must overcome another. Trade unions—no longer the white hope of radicals—have been most successful where they have established by bargaining a common interest with their employers, not where they have succumbed to the syndicalist dream of a general strike that will somehow give them exclusive power.

The trade-union mentality may not be enough to save us but it will probably help; for with improved communication it should prove altogether easier to humanize a university than a factory. To desire a trade-union mentality is after all to evince a faith in America, and even in America's most peculiar ugly duckling (a queer bird, and in some ways already a swan) the multi-versity itself.

(Author's note: I wrote this article at the beginning of October. Whatever optimism it may display should not be construed as happy acquiescence in more recent political events (such as the challenge to Mr. Savio's re-admission) to which the article was not addressed.)

Peter Dale Scott is an Associate Professor of English and member of the Academic Senate's Select Committee on Education.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Dramatis Personae: Savio, Cops, et al



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he Daily Califor-
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ley, Calif.

BEFORE JAIL . . . Mario Savio in the midst of the anti-Navy demonstrators yesterday crammed just outside the door to the Bookstore and Bear's Lair in the Student Union. Shortly after this picture was taken he went upstairs to talk to another crowd. He was arrested later on a warrant for trespassing and creating a nuisance. (Photo by Evan Wilson.)

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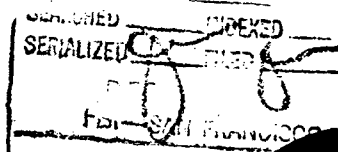
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Savio Asks: Diner Boycott, Worker Strike on Terrace

While a handful of pickets paraded outside, Mario Savio went into the Terrace at 8:20 a.m. to insist the diners stop patronizing the restaurant and ask the workers to strike.

Some students in the breakfast crowd left immediately, apparently to search for a non-involved cup of coffee.

Concerning the effectiveness of

the morning strike, which trickled off before noon, a Terrace spokesman reported: "Breakfast was not so good; that is, business was slow for a Thursday." She did not know if the strike was the cause.

An official with the Dining Commons said: "We are a student service; strikers hurt their own service if we should be forced to shut down."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

7 The Daily Californian

U.of Calif.

Berkeley, Calif.

Date: 12/2/66

Edition: Daily

Author:

KKK Pub.: Assoc. Students of the U. of Calif.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CG 100-43468

Chicago, Illinois

January 9, 1967

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NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE
FOR PEACE (NSSP)

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NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE FOR PEACE

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Mario Savio

"Chicago's American," a Chicago daily newspaper, of December 11, 1964, in an article entitled "U of C to hear student free speech leader," identified Mario Savio, age 22, as one who "sparked the free speech movement" and was responsible in getting students to start demonstrations at the University of California, Berkeley campus, December 2, 1964, in protest of a campus rule restricting political activity.

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Students for a Democratic Society

Phillip Abbott Luce, self-admitted national leader of the "new left" until his split with it in 1965, in his book "The New Left," copyright 1966, published by David Mc Kay Company, Inc., New York, New York, comments about the SDS as follows:

Luce describes SDS as the student arm of the League for Industrial Democracy, formed in 1960, and says it was originally opposed to the totalitarianism of Communism and the programs of the CP, USA. Luce said that the "old left newspaper," the "National Guardian," in its issue of January 9, 1965, described the SDS as "the largest student organization on the left." Luce adds: "SDS has become more and more radical and has espoused the United-front policy of joining with the myriad of young Communist groups in demonstrations...SDS has carried its program of the United-front to such an extent that it now feels it must involve itself directly with the young Communists in a variety of activities to oppose the war in Vietnam ...SDS shelved its Communist exclusion clause in its constitution and threw open its membership to young Communists." He concludes: "The young Communists are, of course, elated at the ultra-left swing of the SDS and are vying to attempt to bring it under their individual control."

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NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE FOR PEACE

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On December 27, 1966, it was learned through a suitable pretext that the CPC occupying space at Room 201, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is the host organization for the NSSP conference to be held December 28-29, 1966, at the University of Chicago. The space in Room 201 was made available to the CPC and the Fellowship of Reconciliation by the SDS National Office, also at 1608 West Madison.

During the above pretext, it was learned that the CPC represents some 20 peace organizations in the Chicago area, that the NSSP has no national headquarters, in fact the NSSP is nothing more than the calling together of many peace groups and/or individuals interested in peace to explore the possibility of a national student strike for peace. The idea of a national student strike for peace was originally the idea of Bettina Aptheker of Berkeley, California.

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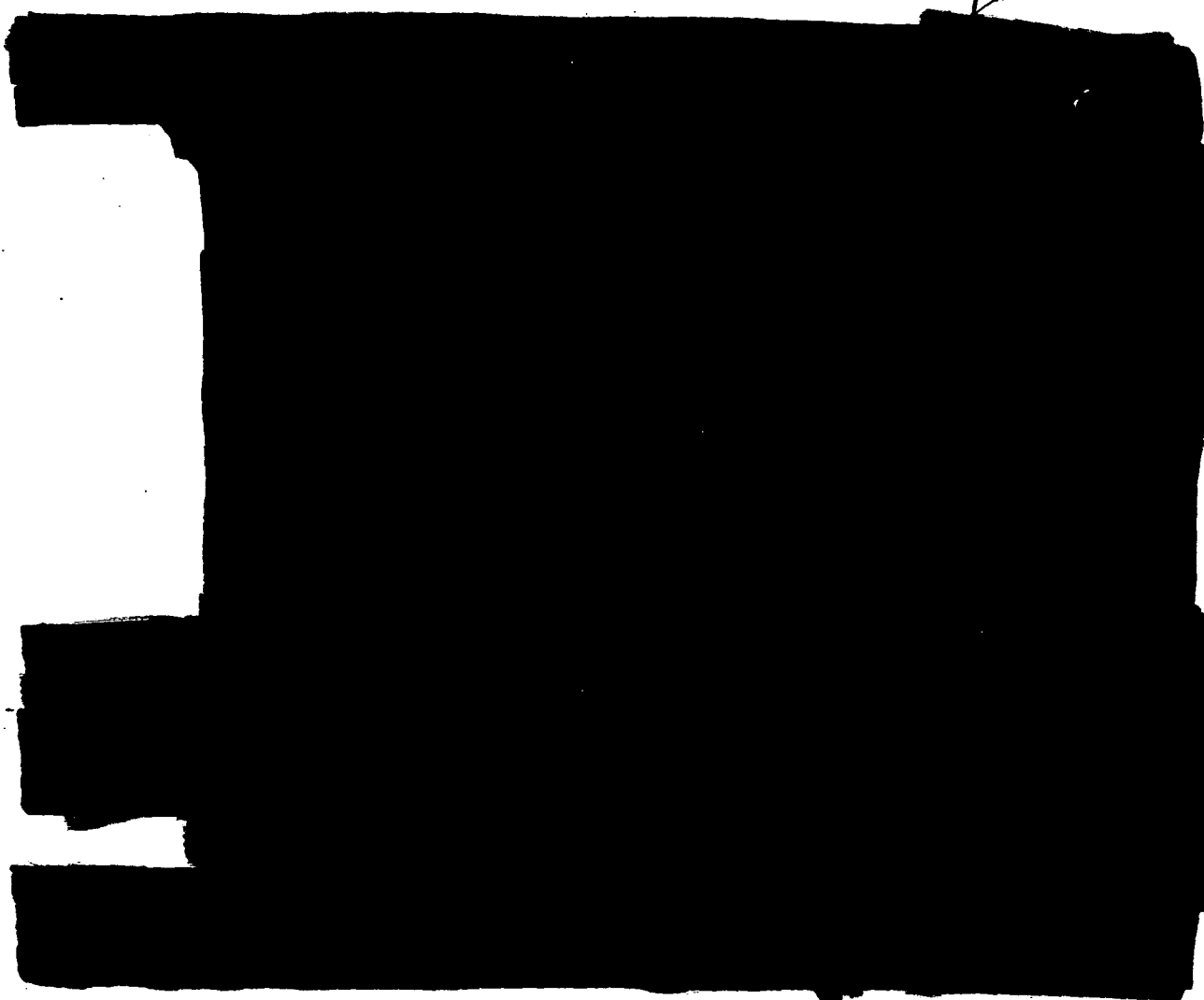
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NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE FOR PEACE

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The eighth source stated 200 persons registered for the conference, 59 from Chicago, 28 from New York. The majority of the registrants were from the Midwest and East Coast with a scattered registration from the South, West and West Coast. Fifty or sixty registrants were from the Young Socialist Alliance or Socialist Workers Party, with some registrants from the CP and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs. Other registrants were from the Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Youth Against War and Fascism, etc. (u)

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**NATIONAL STUDENTS STRIKE
FOR PEACE**

Attached is an article appearing in the Chicago "Sun-Times", January 1, 1967, page 22, which summarizes the NSSP Conference held December 28, 29, 30, 1966:

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Student Anti-War Groups Question The Effectiveness Of Their Tactics

By Jerry De Muth

Students who gathered here last week to plan campus anti-war activities were more inclined to question their past efforts.

Although they finally agreed on a program, members of the movement were beset with frustrations over their attempts to involve those who oppose the Vietnam war and to convince those who do not oppose the war.

The students, more than 200 representing 49 colleges and 37 organizations spent Wednesday through Friday at the University of Chicago drawing up their program.

They voted to designate April 8-15 as Vietnam Week and urged students throughout the country to participate in mass anti-war marches in New York and San Francisco on April 15.

3-Gop Theme

A statement approved Friday proposed that Vietnam Week be focused on a plea to bring American soldiers home immediately, opposition to the draft and efforts to end "campus complicity" with the war effort.

The statement, adopted overwhelmingly in a voice vote, characterized the war as one of "aggression against the people of Vietnam, who seek only to exercise that right of self-determination for which Americans fought in 1776... a racist war, a murderous war against the colored people."

A reporter interviewed a number of the students in an effort to measure their moods.

"A lot of these kids," com-



Bettina Aptheker, who attended anti-war meetings in Chicago last week, is shown addressing a student rally at the University of California. (AP)

mented Robert Heisler of the City College of New York, "came into the movement one or 1½ years ago and thought that a few demonstrations would do it."

Bettina Aptheker, a veteran of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California and a self-proclaimed Communist, said the anti-war movement often did not know "where to go, what to do. We have not seen any effect of our efforts."

"The opposition to the war is growing," she added, "but we have not been able to find forms that give expression to that opposition. We haven't

reached half the people we could reach in our opposition to this war."

Dearborn Referendum

As an example of those who haven't been reached, the special referendum held in Dearborn, Mich., last November was frequently mentioned.

"The 40 per cent in Dearborn who voted to pull out of Vietnam," a boy commented in one discussion group, "show the large numbers we haven't been able to reach and involve in actions."

New faces can give feelings a boost and temporarily relieve frustrations, some students made clear.

"A lot of people have just come in and they're enthusiastic — fraternity guys and other people who you don't associate with the anti-war movement — and they bring new ideas," one student said.

Then there was reference to increasing military escalation of the war in Vietnam in the face of increased questioning by politicians, clergymen and others, of a military approach.

"I sometimes think," Miss Aptheker remarked, "we should stop protesting and then maybe President Johnson would stop escalating."

'Just One Step'

"It's time to stop thinking what we're doing is going to

end the war," said Karen Wald of the Vietnam Day Committee at the University of California. "It's going to be just one step."

"Frustration," explained Jay Hill of California University at Oneonta, N.Y., "comes from having a demonstration and seeing nothing happen. It comes from impa-

tience, wanting to see something concrete, something you can put your finger on. But it's hard to measure how much good has been done."

Although the students voted to support the two marches and to attempt to get as many of their fellow students as possible to the two cities, many expressed disinterest in more marches.

Perhaps reflecting this attitude, the National Council of Students for a Democratic Society, largest of the student action groups, voted 29 to 25 not to support the April 15 marches. The council met in California at the same time the students met here.

"There's a very good reason for opposing it," Steve Kindred of the University of Chicago chapter of SDS said at the Chicago conference. "Demonstrations are often a deadend and they can be very exhausting."

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Kindred, however, said that individual SDS members and chapters could support the march as he did.

Stress On Coasts

A co-ed from the University of Minnesota bluntly admitted, "I'm tired of organizing every three months to get people to Washington or New York. It costs \$1,500 to send 30 people to Washington. That's a lot of money."

"There's a whole big country between the East and West coasts," she continued. "We have to do something that will include these people. We're not going to reach kids by saying let's go to New York."

Student action is normally centered on the East or West coasts, but about half of the participants here were Midwesterners.

Another University of Minnesota co-ed said their isolation was responsible for demoralization.

A University of Wisconsin student added, "People who come out are continually demoralized because they don't see any relation to a national movement."

"We have to do a good job of organizing our own communities before we can organize others," Miss Wald said.

Some Enthusiasm

At a group workshop on campus organizing against the war, enthusiasm replaced frustration.

A student from the University of Pennsylvania spoke of students' discovery of secret germ warfare research going on at the university, campus protests and the resulting national publicity.

Robin David of the University of Wisconsin spoke of a campus referendum on the war and the draft.

Brooklyn College co-ed Phyllis Kalb explained how the raising of political issues by liberal campus groups forced all groups to discuss these issues.

And John Dyregan of Regis College, Denver, a small Roman Catholic college, related

his lone anti-war efforts, which began with leafletting and ended with him speaking before fraternities.

There was also no end of suggested activities for campuses the week before April 15. Recommended actions included student strikes, civil disobedience, war tribunals, fasts, leafletting, teach-ins, film showings and boycotts of the products of companies with defense department contracts.

And after April 15, students plan on holding another conference to take a second look at where they're going.

The Question

"It's not a matter of marches or civil disobedience," one co-ed explained. "The question is what has the movement accomplished. People see bigger and bigger demonstrations and no changes. They're frustrated. But you have to look at each activity as a stage of development."

The student peace movement went into dormancy and was replaced by civil rights after the nuclear test-ban treaty. The Vietnam war changed that and as long as that war continues, students plan on continuing their anti-war activity.

"If there were no protests," Jerry Hill said, "who knows how much larger the war would be."

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NATIONAL STUDENTS STRIKE
FOR PEACE

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The characterizations of the Progressive Labor Party;
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Clubs of America and Chicago; the "National Guardian"; and
the Nation of Islam, Youth Against War and Fascism; Young
Socialist Alliance - Chicago and National; are attached.

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1APPENDIXPROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based in Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, "Challenge," a biweekly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

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APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY,
CHICAGO BRANCH

On May 2, 1966, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve on the SWP National Committee, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP National Headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

CONFIDENTIAL

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "it is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

This source further advised that at a meeting of the Chicago Area of the Midwest Region of the DCA held April 3, 1965, the boundary of the Chicago Area was established to include all of Illinois north of Springfield, Illinois, and all of Indiana. At this meeting, TED PEARSON was elected Area Coordinator.

A second source advised on May 9, 1966, that as of May, 1966, TED PEARSON, Chairman of the Youth Club of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, continued to be the Chicago Area Coordinator of the DCA, and the official headquarters is located at the PEARSON apartment, 1808 North Cleveland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

The second source advised that there are currently two clubs operating in the Chicago Area, one on the west side and the other on the near north side. The west side club operates a club house known as the West Side Freedom Center at 2908 West Madison Street which is open seven days a week to the teen-agers on the west side.

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"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 193 concerning the "National Guardian":

- "1. 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p.12.)"

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YOUTH AGAINST WAR
AND FASCISM

A source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known also as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the Summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and, thereby, gain recruits for the organization.

A second source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on March 9, 1966, that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan".

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (SA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO,
Also known as Young Socialist
Supporters, University Young Socialists

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1966, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1966, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUAHMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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FBI

Date: 1-9-67

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(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

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FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-43468)
SUBJECT: NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE FOR PEACE
(NSSP)
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SERIAL FOR DRIF

Re Chicago teletypes 12/27, 28, 29 and 30, 1966, to
Bureau, New York, and/or San Francisco.

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Transmitted herewith for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum and appropriate copies for each recipient office concerning captioned matter.

One copy of this letterhead memorandum is being directed to the Bureau for the case entitled, [REDACTED] Copies of the same letterhead memorandum have been designated for information purposes to offices [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

A separate communication is being directed to all offices receiving this letterhead memorandum to furnish subversive characterizations on individuals [REDACTED]

In addition, copies of this letterhead memorandum are being furnished to the 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois; NISO, Chicago, Illinois; and U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, Illinois.

Sources utilized in the letterhead memorandum are as follows:

b2
b7D
b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

Individuals and organizations not characterized in the LHM were not characterized because of insufficient data on which to base a characterization.

b7C
b7E

The pretext of December 27, 1966, was that of SA [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~